THE SPECTOR-MACDONALD –AUTHORS (1920-1953, 1951-1982)

1- ***Introduction***: *(c.1972-W5) Excerpts from Dowson speech on "The (Canadian) Labor Party and the Struggle for a socialist Canada" :* ***Maurice Spector on the CLP****; An early victory for the Communist Party of Canada (first of 4 talks available on the RD web)*

1920-1 *Photo:* Spector makes a point at meeting: with Moriarty, Buck and MacDonald

1922-1 *Angus Document I* – **The Labor Left – The Communist Cadre** (from Ian Angus, *Canadian Bolsheviks*, 1981, pp.64-78)

1922-2 *Angus Document II* - **The Leninist Period:** The Constituent Convention of the Workers Party of Canada, by Maurice Spector: (the founding of the WPC – from Angus, 1981: *Canadian Bolsheviks* (Vanguard Publications, Montreal, 339-343.) "It appears to be a report by Spector Fourth Congress of the Communist International, which he attended" (Angus – pp.339-343 – followed by) Manifesto of the WPC; Provisional platform of the WPC; WP Resolution on Labour Unions, Report *(and Resolution)* on Industrial Activity; Resolution on the United Front (pp.343-356).

1923-1 *Angus Document III* - **Canadian Communists and the Left Opposition –** *Canadian Bolsheviks* , excerpt from Ch. 4, "Regrouping the Left," pp64-72 & "The Communist Cadre" pp 76-78 -- Spector on the German KPD crisis pp181-187 – The expulsion of Spector from the CP of C

1925-CI-p1 Wm.Moriarty – article in *Communist International* **"The Situation in Canada"**
1925-CI-p2 CONTENTS: Canadian Industrial Disputes Act is ultra vires under term of BNA Act.
1925-CI-p3 Under the terms of the BNA Act -- Growing influence of America CP's campaign for Farmer-Labour Party – but black-listed by Farmers Union of Canada.
1925-CI-p4 Prior to the war...
1925-CI-p5 Bureaucratic Dominion Trades Congress supports Canadian Labour Party
1925-CI-p6 CPofC agitating for Cdn union autonomy of (to call strikes) – Intnl leader Lewis
1925-CI-p7 refused to support N.S. Miners -- CP slogan for nationalization of mines popular. Miners election of full CP slate. Cdn. Labor Party not yet nation-wide. Need for full Canadian trade-union autonomy -- as well as abolition of BNA Act.

1926-10Oct Labour Monthly – Spector: "Where is Canada heading for?" (6pp)

1928-1 .doc Spector: biographical note *(Wikipedia)*
1928-10Oct ***Synopsis of Enlarged Executive Meeting****, Toronto (pp1,10,11 only)*
MacDonald to 6th Congress of the C.I. *(Canadian independence, the labor party)*
1928-11Nov. Spector: Letter to the Political Committee (5 PP)

1929 *(undated)* Spector: "The cult of Stalin's 'Third Period' "*(Excerpts, US Trotskyism Part 1- 1928-1965, Paul Le Blanc,, Bryan Palmer, Thomas Bias, Haymarket Books, 2017, p33)*

1932-1a Cover page, Spector: ''Selected Readings in Marxism *(See "Documents" folder)*
1932-05May Angus: Document IV - **Statement of Jack MacDonald upon expulsion from the CP of C** (from Angus,*Canadian Bolsheviks,* 1981, pp. 369-373)

1933-July **The Regina Manifesto**– adopted at the First National Convention of the Co-operative Commonweawlth Federation (CF)

1934-02Feb Spector: Congress of the Comintern bureaucracy?
1934-09Sept *Vanguard* – E. Robertson: CCF "Marxists" and Stalinist "critics"

1937-01Jan Spector: Introduction to Lessons of October" by Trotsky

1938-01Jan from *The New International (*SWP New York): "Books on the Twentieth Anniversary" (reviews of works by André Gide & Victor Serge) , by Maurice Spector
1938-04 April-1 – from *The New International* -- "The Record of the Democracies" by Maurice Spector
1938-06 from *The New International* – "The Collapse of the New Deal" by Maurice Spector The "Roosevelt Revolution"
1938-08 from *The New International* – Books: The English Worker (review) by E. Robertson
1938-09 p261 -- from *The New International* -- "Canada and World Politics" by E. Robertson *Land of monopolies – Canadian "imperialism"*
1938-09 p262 – An infant prodigy – Cross-eyes of Canadian politics
1938-09 p263 – Canada and martial self-determination
1938-09 p264 – Arsenal for the coming slaughter
1938-10Oct22 – from The New International –" Internationalism–Our Banner," by Maurice Spector, MISSING Co-editor NI – incl. Socialist Appeal front page "World Congress founds the F.I."
1938-10 p301 -- *The New International* – "The Soviets and Democracy" by Maurice Spector
1938-10 p302 – The absence of Workers Democracy
1938-10 p303 -- *(conclusion)*
1938-10 p304 --*The New International* -- "Is French Canada Going Fascist?" by Robertson *Arcand, fascist chameleon*
1938-10 p305 – Petrified church-state
1938-10 p306 – The Padlock Law
1938-10 p307 – The proletarian road
1938-11 p329 – *The New International* -- "The Popular Front's Guilt," by Maurice Spector The victorious advance of Hitler
1938-11 p330 – *(conclusion)* Collective Security proved to be a colossal swindle
1938- **Leon Trotsky on the Labor Party in the USA**
Discussions in 1938 with James P. Cannon and other SWP leaders -- ***annotations/ by Ross Dowson:*** *(in **bold type** next to Trotsky's comments)*

1939-02 "Lenin on Imperialism" by Leon Trotsky (the outbreak of World War One)
1939-*99-1* "Canadian Capitalism and the Strategy of the Revolutionary Movement" *(Undated, unsigned document found in June), likely author Robertson shortly before he resigned from the movement)*

1940-01Jan Extract "Earl Birney: A life" by E. Cameron + J.P. Cannon letter re Birney

RWL PERIOD (from 1941)
1941-99 *(Undated handwritten notes, found in c.1943),* ''The War, Women & Industry''; on the historical demand for female labor in times of war; now in Canada women are a permanent part of workforce, concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations but increasing doing men's jobs while remaining largely unorganized

1944-1 Dowson in Canadian Army-Resigning Officer rank

1945-12Dec *(Undated handwritten notes dated by RD ''Fall of 1945")* re: addressing ''the problem of French Canada;'' a historical sketch and the role of the clergy; monopoly capitalism finds a rich field of exploitation today; the rise of petit bourgeois nationalism; comparing wages and hours in Quebec with Ontario; the dead weight of the church and distorted society and education; Lenin quoted on the right of secession of enslaved nations; the reactionary and negative nature of present Quebec nationalism; the lack of any progressive ends of secession existing in Quebec today; ''however the sentiment that the nationalist movement exploits is essentially progressive – ''

1947-04Apr The R.W.P. and internationalism (R D.)

1948-1 RWL activists at Toronto HQ

SEL PERIOD (from 1955)

1951-07 (DUP)CCF-Tasks&Perspect-R.Dowson

1958- The Labor Party in America, by Leon Trotsky

LSA PERIOD (from 1961)

1961-11Nov WV-Editorial by R.D. Time to Re-think NDP Policy (on Soviet Union)
It's High Time to Re-think Where Canada Must Stand

1964-09Sept ''The Struggle for a Proletarian Party in Canada (1921-45)''

1967-09Sept Pt. 1&2: History of the Canadian Troitskyist movement – Ross Dowson
1967-09Sept Pt. 2&3: (1971) Trotskyists driven underground during World War 2
1967-09Sept Pt. 3 & Q. And A. (1971) The Canadian concept of "entryism" -- building a team
1967-09Sept Pt. 4 (Sept. 1971) How Trotskyists stood up to Stalinism – the Spirit of '21

1968-08Aug Maurice Spector *(signed R.D.)*
1968-08Aug Review: "Soldiers of the International" -- Rodney book
1968-08Aug Spector in Rodney book, by R.D.

1969-08Aug CANADA-U.$.RELATIONS—Reply: On Americanization
1969-08Aug LSA/LSO Statement On the discussion
1969-08Aug Watkins Report filed into Govt's Morgue
1969-08Aug NDP leader Taylor projects No Real Alternatives

1970-00 The Socialist Vanguard and the NDP, by Ross Dowson *(1976 note: "Our Orientation to the NDP –as a strategy – and its tactical application": Touchstone of class politics - Opposition -- The Concept of Entry – The Youth Radicalization of the 1960s)*

1971z Labor Challenge photo montage-Canadian Movement Leaders

1973-04Apr Part 1- The Collapse of our NDP Work in Ontario and some Lessons for the Future
1973-04Apr Part 2 - By Harry Knight (H.K.) *(unknown, R.Dowson style-Ed.)* Toronto East Branch

FORWARD GROUP PERIOD (from 1974)

1974-01Jan- Subversion of the socialist orientation to the NDP (*Cover-booklet at W5-RDArchives)*

1974-06Jun-Against sectarianism—Challenge of the labor party *(Cover-booklet at W5-RD Archives)*

1974-Nov – "Maurice Spector, pioneer Canadian socialist, on the national question."
(article by Ontario historian Gary O'Brien)

1974-99 Ross Dowson-photo-Capilano BC

1982-06-*Forward #48* Summer Issue: R. Dowson critique of "Canadian Bolsheviks" by Ian Angus

The Labor Left and the Communist Cadre

(From:"Canadian Bolsheviks" by Ian Angus, 1981,Vanguard Pub., Montreal pp 64-77)

(…) Maurice Spector, a member of the SDP executive elected at the January 1919 convention, explained the collapse of the SDP in an article written in 1922:

("")The Social Democratic Party vanished from the political scene for two reasons. First, the right wing perceiving that the war had sufficiently quickened the sense of independent political action among the moderate trade union elements, threw themselves into the work of getting control of that development by the organization of an Independent Labor Party; secondly, the left wing developed by the repercussion of the Russian Revolution succeeded in putting a successful referendum on affiliation to the Communist International (1919). But this achievement was little more than a revolutionary gesture, a demonstration of ideal revolutionary solidarity, since the party was rapidly disintegrating, and was finally liquidated by its revolutionary Central Committee to prevent the treasury funds and party name being exploited by the former Social Democratic element in the I.L.P. for its own political ends." (3: Spector, "The Constituent Convention..." Kenney Papers)

By the beginning of 1920 the Social Democratic Party had disappeared. In its place were underground groups devoted to revolutionary political goals. These groups carried on legal (i.e., public) propaganda through a variety of front groups, while discussing Bolshevism in private.

The first and best-known of the front groups was the Ontario Labor College, formed early in January 1920, with offices at 28 Wellington Street West, in downtown Toronto. The College was an adjunct of the Plebs League, formed at the same time, with the same offices, by the same people. The two organizations held weekly educational classes in Marxist theory in their offices at the Occident Hall in the Ukrainian section of Toronto, in West Toronto, and in Hamilton. The best-known leaders of the organizations were former SDP executive member Maurice Spector; former SPNA leaders Florence Custance and Tom Bell; and Max Armstrong, a popular speaker and educator who had at various times been active in the SDP, the SPNA, and the One Big Union.(4)

A parallel organization was established in Quebec. The Montreal Labor College, initiated by Social Democrats Mike Buhay, Rebecca Buhay, Annie Buller, and Bella Gauld, attracted a broader range of speakers than its Toronto counterpart—non-Marxists, including J.S. Woodsworth, participated in its program of classes and public meetings.(5: Rodney, Soldiers of the International, p29)

It is unclear whether the Plebs League saw itself as a Communist organization from its foundation. William Rodney, in Soldiers of the International, states that the Plebs League affiliated with the United Communist Party of America (one of two Communist Parties in the U.S.) in January 1921.(10) It seems unlikely that the decision to establish a party was delayed that long. In the first place, the group included Tom Bell and Florence Custance, both of whom had been involved in the 1919 Communist Party—Bell had served a prison term for his part in it. Secondly, it included Maurice Spector, who had initiated the referendum for the Third International in the SDP. These three would have needed very little convincing to establish a Communist organization, although formal affiliation to the UCPA may have taken longer.

(...)

The Labor Left

When the SDP's right wing left the party in 1919 to participate in the Labor Party movement, they were themselves a divided force. Some—James Simpson is the best example—were social democrats in the modern sense, liberal reformers with an eye on parliamentary careers. Others saw the Labor Party as a step towards the Socialist Commonwealth: they were the left wing of the right wing. This group included a large number of dedicated socialist leaders, of whom the best known was Jack MacDonald.

MacDonald was born in Scotland in 1888, and played a prominent role in socialist and labor politics in his native city, Falkirk. He was, like most of the Labor left, a highly-skilled industrial worker, what was then called a pattern-maker, what we today would call a die-maker. When he emigrated to Canada and settled in Toronto in 1912, MacDonald joined the Pattern Makers Lodge, becoming one of that union's principal spokesmen in the Toronto and District Labor Council. In 1919 he was vice-president of the Metal Trades Council, the organization which initiated the Toronto General Strike. MacDonald does not seem to have held any executive positions in the SDP, and he was not a regular contributor to the socialist or labor press, but his skill as an orator made him famous. During the great labor radicalization of 1919 there was seldom a radical or labor meeting in Toronto that did not feature Jack MacDonald in some prominent capacity.

On July 7, 1919, the Toronto Times labor column featured a "Chat With An Agent Of The Secret Bolshevism." Though the "agent" was not named, aiiyone familiar with the Toronto labor left could have identified MacDonald. He was Scottish, "about 30 years old," an official of a union which had just finished a sympathetic strike, and so on. The Times reporter expressed great indignation that this man "appeared in the guise of a labor leader" when in reality he was only "hiding under that honored name to play upon the hopes and grievances of real workingmen and lead them to revolt." The interview provides a valuable insight into the thinking of men such as MacDonald in 1919. Labor, he said, was fighting for "control of the means of production. All of them." The best weapon at labor's disposal was the general strike—"We can't win by the ballot. That's been proved. We always get tricked." He endorsed the goals of the Russian Revolution:

(“) We all have copies of the Russian soviet constitution here. We've read it and studied it. About the methods they used I'm saying nothing, you understand. They may be right or they may be wrong. But I will say this: the Russian soviet constitution is the greatest thing for the workingmen that has ever been devised … And we II get it nght here too.(“)

MacDonald was typical of hundreds of labor radicals, both in his British origins and training as a skilled worker, and in his political outlook. He and his co-thinkers were profoundly attracted to the Russian Revolution and to the Bolsheviks' dedication to the cause of proletarian liberation, but they knew very little about Bolshevik "methods." What they thought of as Bolshevik methods were the slogans and policies of the Canadian Bolshevik underground: slogans and policies which a man with MacDonald's experience knew to be out of touch with reality. MacDonald defended the underground against government persecution—he was the featured speaker at demonstrations opposing the conviction of the thirteen Communists in June—but he did not accept their political ideas. He and his circle vacillated between the traditional social democratic, electoral approach to socialism, and a semi-syndicalist enthusiasm for the general strike, until they were convinced there was a better way. In the end it was their own experience that convinced them.

The defeat of the general strike movement of the spring and summer of 1919 was followed by a widespread enthusiasm for labor parties and candidates. MacDonald himself ran as a candidate for the Independent Labor Party in the Ontario provincial elections, coming second in his riding with more than 7,000 votes. He was elected second vice-president of the ILP and president of the smaller, more radical Canadian Labor Party (Ontario Section). When the CLP and ILP formed a Labor Representation Committee to coordinate efforts in

the 1919 Toronto municipal elections, MacDonald was chosen as chairman. From July 1919 until January 1921 he served on the executive of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council, representing the TLC on a host of committees and councils.

MacDonald's participation in labor electoral politics did not blunt or mute his radical views. In February 1920 he told a public meeting in Toronto: “"I believe in the Soviet system as now practiced in Russia today While there have been barbarities under that system we must remember that they have established this system while they have had the whole Capitalist class of the world at their throats." Such remarks ensured that he was in constant conflict with the labor reformers who ran the ILP. MacDonald in turn looked with increasing disfavor on the ILP legislative caucus, as personal ambition, petty jealousy, and above all the alliance with the procapitalist United Farmers prevented the party from achieving even the most moderate of gains for the working class.

The turning point for MacDonald was the North East Toronto provincial by-election in November 1920. James Higgins, a member of the committee which organized the Toronto general strike, was nominated jointly by the ILP, the United Veterans, and the Trades and Labor Council. MacDonald and other radicals campaigned on Higggin's behalf, but the Farmer-Labor government refused to support him. (The legislators objected to the radical planks in Higgins's platform, especially his call for withdrawal of troops from Russia and his support for Irish self determination.) The ILP right wing attributed Higgins's defeat in the by-election to the involvement and influence of socialists. The party executive, in a joint meeting with the legislative caucus, declared its opposition to the appearance of ILP spokesmen at meetings at which views were expressed which were "not in accordance with the fundamental principles of British democracy or the platform of the ILP." A second resolution expressed the opinion that socialists should not hold office in the ILP, and requested socialists to decline if nominated!(8)

For the radicals, already disenchanted with the ILP, this was the last straw. They broke with not only the ILP right wing, but with such former Social Democrats as James Simpson who favored unity at all costs. In early January 1921, MacDonald's supporters in the Labor Council nominated him for president; he opposed not only the right wing candidate but also James Scott, one of Simpson's associates. Following the elections, in which he trailed l)adly, MacDonald announced to a crowded ILP Forum that he was leaving the party:

(“) I have been in the Labor Party for what assistance I could render to the workers and for want of a better party. I can't possibly remain in it any longer. I believe it is the duty of class-conscious Socialists to form Left wings affiliated with the Third Internationale.(“)

MacDonald heaped scorn on the very idea of winning socialism through parliamentary means:

(“) Hyndman, Clynes, Thomas and others of the Second International talk of Socialism, social ownership, nationalization, the capture of Parliament and other reforms. Their followers imagine that by some enactment of Parliament capitalism will slide from the backs of the workers.... Don't have any illusions! There never was a class thatgot off the backs of the workers unless it was thrown off. Do you think the capitalist class, which is preparing to shed blood to destroy the Soviet of Russia is going to sit around a table to hand over the means of production?... Soft words will not get the workers over the barricades. (“)

That meeting, on January 23, 1921, caused a sensation in the Toronto labor movement. Every newspaper reported it—several made it front page news ('John MacDonald threw off his

camouflage last night" said the Tory Mail and Empire.) In an attempt to undo some of the damage caused by MacDonald's defection, and to restrain some of MacDonald's associates from following him, the ILP held another meeting two weeks later, featuring James Simpson speaking on the desirability of reform through constitutional means. Simpson, however, was hissed and booed by members of the audience. When he finished, MacDonald took the floor. "The ILP is moribund," he said. "It is dead. It does not function except through a forum.... Communists in Toronto are much stronger than the members of the ILP. The ILP is not a Socialist organization, it is a Liberal Party. Talk on Communism. Talk on something real!" That confrontation caused almost as great a stir as the first meeting did.

Representatives of both underground Communist parties had been present at the January 23 meeting. Thomas Bell of the United Communist Party of America expressed doubts about MacDon-ald's sincerity, and argued that he could not be permitted to join the Communist movement in view of his record, but George Wiltshaw of the Communist Party of America disagreed, pointing out that the Third International had appealed to supporters of the Second International to come over to the new organization. MacDonald accepted Wiltshaw's invitation, joining the Toronto CPA branch shortly after the meeting. He brought with him a group of labor militants who were as disgusted with the ILP as he was: they included such people as Fred Peel, Robert Shoesmith, Tim Buck, Joe Knight, and Sarah Knight, all of whom were to play leading roles in the Communist Party of Canada in the 1920s. They transformed the CPA from an ingrown organization limited to the East European immigrant community into a party that attempted to win broad influence in the labor movement. Under their initiative the CPA launched a legal front, similar to the UCPA's Ontario Labor College, called the Workers Educational Association. MacDonald's adherence to the Communist movement was a major turning point in the history of Canadian Bolshevism.

Fusion

There were now two Communist parties in Toronto and in most other cities east of.Winnipeg.The split had no political justification: the parties had similar programs and objectives and conducted similar activities. That the split lasted any time at all reflected not Canadian conditions but the paralyzing factionalism that had divided the Communist movement in the United States since 1919. The Comintern repeatedly urged the U.S. parties to overcome their differences and merge, but to no avail. Finally, early in 1921, the International established a Pan-American Agency with instructions to unite the two parties by June 1, 1921. If unity could not be achieved the Agency had the authority to create a new party "without regard to the existing parties," in effect readingthe opponents of unity out of the International. Early in May, at a secret convention in Woodstock, New York, the two organizations united to form a single party, the Communist Party of America.(10)

The Comintern's instructions also applied, by extension, to Canada. Early in April the Pan-American, Agency sent Caleb Harrison to Toronto to initiate unity talks. Harrison, who used the pseudonym "Atwood," soon had negotiations under way. The first concrete result of his efforts was the production of issue number one of The Communist, published to mark May Day by the "Committee of the Third International in Canada." The unity talks moved very quickly. As late as May Day 1921 the two parties held separate rallies in Toronto, and the unity convention actually assembled on May 23.

The delegates travelled in the greatest secrecy to a small farm on the outskirts of Guelph, Ontario, owned by UCPA member Fred Farley. Twenty-two people attended in all—fifteen from the CPA, five from the UCPA, and two from the Socialist Party of Canada. The disproportionate strength of the CPA delegation reflected the size of the large immigrant organizations in the CPA, whose delegation included Matthew Popowich and John

Navisisky of the Ukrainian Labor Temple Association in Winnipeg, and John Ahlqvist and John Latva of the Canadian Finnish Organization. The CPA group also included Jack MacDonald and George Wiltshaw. The UCPA was represented by Maurice Spector, Tom Bell, Florence Custance, and two others whose names are not known. The members of the SPC did not officially represent their party, although they may have been sent by their branches: one of them was Toronto SPC secretary William Moriarty; the other may have been Fred Kaplan from Winnipeg.

The convention, under Harrison's chairmanship, lasted only one day. In contrast to the U.S. unity convention, which almost collapsed as a result of the constituent organizations' failure to agree on major issues, the Canadian meeting was unanimous on every significant point. It adopted a constitution and a program—both of them modified versions of those adopted in the United States chose the name Communist Party of Canada, accepted the discipline of the Communist International "as binding upon all delegates present and. . . its entire membership, without any reservations," and chose a provisional Central Committee.(12) With that done, and after the singing of The Internationale, the delegates dispersed. The June issue of The Communist, edited by Maurice Spector, announced the formation of the new party:

(“) The result of the Constituent Convention is the organization of the Canadian working class into the Communist Party of Canada, section of the Communist International, with a program of mass-action as the vital form of proletarian activity, armed insurrection, civil war as the decisive form of mass-action, for the destruction of the Capitalist State, proletarian dictatorship in the form of soviet power as the lever of the Communist reconstruction of society. And now Comrades, there is tremendous work before us. Ours is an age of revolution versus imperialism. History is with us. Socialism is no longer the possession of a cloistered sect, nor a subject of parliamentary diplomacy. It is a bitter, relentless mass-struggle against the most monstrous coalition of oppression and destruction that history has record of. Therefore all shoulders to the wheel.

Long live the Communist Party of Canada!

Long live the Communist International!(”)

(…)

(page 76) The Communist Cadre

Between the end of World War I and the beginning of 1922, a complete regroupment of the Canadian left took place. In most countries during this period the left split between a social-democratic majority and a communist minority, but that was not the case here. The Communist movement took 90 percent or more of the membership of the Social Democratic Party, all or most of the Socialist Party of North America, and a major fraction of the Socialist Party ofCanada, including virtually all of its active union members. By the beginning of 1922 the Communist movement had gathered into its ranks a clear majority of the organized left. It had also assembled its basic leadership cadre, the team that would guide the party through the 1920s.

Jack MacDonald's background has already been discussed. His initial political training was in Scotland, but by the time the Communist Party of Canada was formed he already had nine years of Canadian political and union activity behind him. A self-educated worker and an outstanding orator, MacDonald was one of the most popular figures in the Ontario labor movement. When he decided to join the Communist movement, he brought dozens of radical trade unionists with him.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of MacDonald's role in the Canadian Communist movement. He was the party's first chairman. He became national secretary in 1923, holding that post until 1929. He was a delegate to the Fourth (1922) and Sixth (1928) Congresses of the Communist International. "Moscow Jack," as the papers called him, was communism personified for many Canadian workers in the 1920s.

When MacDonald was elected national secretary in 1923, his place as party chairman was taken by Maurice Spector the youngest of the party's central leaders. Spector was born on March 19, 1898 in the Ukraine, but was brought to Canada as an infant. He joined the Young Socialist League (the SDP's youth wing) in 1914, and by 1916 was contributing.regularly to the SDP's Canadian Forward. At the beginning of 1918, as acting editor of the University of Toronto Varsity Spector published a letter critical of the war and the Allies' role in it: this violation of wartime censorship got him removed from the paper and nearly expelled from university. In 1919 Spector was a member of the Dominion Executive of the SDP; in 1920 he participated in the formation of the Toronto branch of the United Communist Party of America.

Spector was, beyond doubt,: the outstanding Canadian Marxist intellectual of his generation. He edited the CPC's underground newspaper The Communist in 1921, and became editor of the "legal" newspaper The Worker in 1922. With one interruption (caused by travel in Europe and Russia) Spector remained editor of The Worker until 1928. In 1927-1928 he also edited the party's magazine Canadian Labor Monthly. He was a delegate to the Fourth and Sixth Comintern congresses, and in 1928 became the first Canadian to be elected to the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI).

The MacDonald-Spector partnership was the axis around which the leadership of the Communist Party was organized in the 1920s. MacDonald was an organizer of great ability, and a speaker who could reach and influence masses of workers. Spector also had a reputation as an orator, but his greatest contribution to the party was as a theoretician and writer.

MacDonald and Spector were the dominant leaders of the Communist movement in its early years, but they were not the only leaders. Quite the contrary. Largely through MacDonald's efforts, the CPC assembled a team of leaders who worked together with surprisingly little friction: the bitter factional strife which marred U.S. party life in the 1920s was entirely absent in Canada (… end of present extract)

Notes: (3) See “The Leninist Period” Feb. 1922 – (4) Rodney, “ Soldiers of the International” pp31-32 – (5) Rodney, “Soldiers --”, p. 29 (6) Ibid, p. 32 – (7) The Globe, Feb 7, 1920 – (8) Robin, Radical Politics, p. 234-5 – (9) various press reports 1921

II. The Leninist Period: The Constituent Convention of the Workers' Party of Canada – February1922

(From Angus, 1981, Documents, pp-339-343)

By Maurice Spector*

*(*Note by the author Ian Angus in* Canadian Bolsheviks*, 1981: "The Constituent Convention of the Workers Party of Canada," by Maurice Spector, has never been published before. By its contents, it must have been written in March or April 1922: it appears to be a report by Spector to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, which he attended. Original in Kenny Papers, University of Toronto Rare Book Room.)*

I.

The Workers Party Convention which took place in the third week of February laid the foundations of the first actual political organization of the militant workers of Canada. It is true that there have been other socialist parties in the past, but in the light of developments it is clear that these were merely the elementary stepping-stones for a more serious political evolution of the workers of this country. The Social Democratic Party, which attracted greatest attention during the war period for its pacifist attitude, dimly attempted to be a mass party by its program of maximum and minimum demands. It attempted to go down to the level of the workers just emerging to political consciousness without seeking to raise that level. It attempted to get its "immediate demands" realized through electioneering and legislation, rather than through the pressure of proletarian struggle. The Social Democratic Party vanished from the political scene for two reasons. First, the right wing perceiving that the war had sufficiently quickened the sense of independent political action among the moderate trade union elements, threw themselves into the work of getting control of that development by the organization of an independent Labor Party; secondly, the left wing developed by the repercussion of the Russian Revolution succeeded in putting a successful referendum on affiliation to the Communist International (1919). But this achievement was in effect little more than a revolutionary gesture, a demonstration of ideal revolutionary solidarity, since the party was rapidly disintegrating, and was finally liquidated by its revolutionary Central Committee to prevent the treasury funds and party name being exploited by the former Social Democratic element in the I.L.P. for its own political ends.

The other Socialist Party, the Socialist Party of Canada, was a sectarian body and not a revolutionary political party in the European sense. For instance, its official organ, the *Western Clarion*, declared editorially that the function of the party was purely educational, consisting that is, in the holding of study classes, lectures, etc. In general its party attitude was purely critical of labor developments, and its criticism was characterized by abstruse pedantry. The effect of the party teachings on some of its members was to instill in them a contempt for the everyday "wage struggle" of the workers. The real class struggle was, so to speak, considered postponed until a majority of the workers were ready to accept the S.P. of C. program, or if the class struggle was at all being waged currently it was done so at the S.P. of C. headquarters. Another section if its membership, however, was active in the trade union movement; the position of the S.P. of C. members of this section as workers proving stronger than the doctrinairism of their party. Working steadily, they became influential in the Western trade union movement (it should be pointed out here that the S.P. of C. never extended materially into Eastern Canada). But because these S.P. of C. workers were not carrying on under centralized control, because the conception of the role of the party of the proletariat was as yet very vague, their activity in the everyday struggle tended to give them consciously or unconsciously a syndicalist outlook. For real action and leadership in the class

struggle they looked to the trade union movement rather than to the organized political vanguard of the proletariat. The S.P. of C. has finally split on the rock of affiliation to the Communist International.

II.

The Communist Party of Canada was formed in the summer of 1921 on an illegal basis, for several reasons. The comrades were still living in the memory of the ruthless government Orders-in-Council suppressing revolutionary movements during the war and demobilization period, the brutal measures that the State took to break the Winnipeg strike and gaol the strike leaders were still fresh in mind, and the Canadian Communist groups were still in the shadow of the terroristic means adopted by the American bourgeoisie to outlaw the American Communist Party. The underground character of the Party, however, combined with the inexperience of the leading elements, led to its isolation from the Canadian labor movement. No matter how active certain Party members may have been, the Communist Party as such played a negligible role. It began to dawn more and more clearly on the Party comrades that unless the Party adopted anew orientation in the question of public activity, the Communist Party would be condemned to stagnation. The formation of mere workers' societies, as planned in a resolution at the Constituent Convention, was proving utterly insufficient. This feeling was clarified and organized when the decisions of the Third Congress on the American situation became known. Any lingering fears there may have been among some comrades of the Party that broad public activity was necessarily associated with the compromise of principles and would lead to centrism, were rapidly dissipated. It became manifest to all that the essence of the policies of the Communist International was Communist activity rather than the pure and punctilious phrase. Consequently, the decisions of the Comintern were welcomed unanimously in Canada as being absolutely in accord with the demands and realities of the situation.

That situation, moreover, made it imperative that the Communist Party act quickly and assume the initiative or be wholly left behind in the organization of the left elements of the Canadian labor movement which were beginning to stir. The left wing of the S.P. of C., growing tired of the interminable discussion on affiliation to the Third International carried on by their party organ, along with consistent sabotage of every effort to arrive at the decision, were leaving the S.P. of C. Various organizations, such as the Finnish Socialist Federation, were unattached but yet ripe for affiliation to an open Communist organization. The retrogression of the O.B.U. in the West was leaving great numbers of workers outside of any political or economic organization. The "labor parties" had met with disappointing results at the polls in the Federal election. Wage reductions and unemployment were the order of the day. And finally the labor bureaucracy were laying plans to canalize the mass movement, which is beginning to pick up again, by the organization of the "safe and sane" Labor Party.

A call was sent out for a preliminary conference to consider the question of establishing a Workers' Party of Canada on militant lines. At this preliminary conference a rough program and constitution were adopted and the Provisional Organization Committee was appointed to prepare plans for the Constituent Convention of the Workers' Party. The upshot was the recently held convention of February 17th-20th.

III.

This convention was characterized chiefly by the spirit of fundamental unity and earnest desire for activity. The Communists did not direct this convention by virtue of any "mechanical control" but simply because they were best prepared, were aware of the issues most distinctly, did the most thinking, worked most energetically, and had in general the best organization. The independent elements like the Finnish organization accepted this Communist leadership without question. But the Western, former S.P. of C. elements, came with an original

program calling for an open Communist Party with frank acceptance of the twenty-one points *[the Theses on the conditions of admission to the Communist International]*. They suspected that the Eastern delegates were working for a moderate, milk-and-watery program, and since these S.P. of C. left-wingers had split from their party on just this very issue of the twenty-one points, they felt that they would be placed in an impossible position if they went back West with any program short of their original conception. A frank explanation, however, that a Canadian Section of the Comintern already existed and that an open Communist Party would not at the present moment be opportune, along with the explanation of the Communist delegates that an open Communist Party was their objective also, after the experience, activity and mass contact of the Workers' Party for a year or so, enabled both sides to reach an accord. It was agreed, however, that the time was ripe for the Workers' Party to recognize more or less openly the spiritual leadership of the Communist International and the principle of proletarian dictatorship.

The only discordant moment at the convention, if it can be called discordant, in view of the fact that the delegates were almost unanimous in their rejection of his attitude, was the debate on labor union policy precipitated by R.B. Russell of Winnipeg strike fame and fraternal delegate of the O.B.U. *(One Big Union –Ed.*) As is perhaps generally known, the overwhelming majority of the Canadian workers belong to the "International" unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and finding a national expression in the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. Then there are various independent unions like the Canadian Federation of Labor, which bases itself upon the principles of national organization, refusing to send union moneys out of the country. There are French-Canadian Catholic unions of Quebec dominated by the clergy. There is the Lumber Workers Industrial Union, strong and radical, originally syndicalistic but now affiliated with the R.I.L.U. And then there is the "One Big Union" balloted upon by the Western workers at the time when the revolutionary wave in Europe was at its crest, and when syndicalism and Bolshevism were often confused, and actually formed after the Winnipeg general strike. Since its formation the O.B.U. movement in some way becomes isolated from the main body of the trade union movement, it becomes easier for the capitalist class to harry and destroy it. The O.B.U. movement did not arouse the enthusiasm of the workers of the industrial East, who remained attached to the A.F. of L.; the government's clubbing of the Winnipeg strike intimidated numbers of even the Western workers. Finally, the ideas of the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International, which make the consolidation and unity of the trade union movement the great revolutionary desideratum, have awakened a desire in the militant workers for a unification of all forces of the Canadian trade union movement, a healing of the splits of the past. Russell spent his time trying to demonstrate the superiority of the O.B.U. "structure" over the A.F. of L. structure, shirking the main issue which is the consolidation of the trade union movement and its re-organization from within the existing unions by amalgamating related crafts on an industrial union basis. The Western delegates, some of whom had been as prominent as Russell himself in the formation of the O.B.U., stood solidly with the Eastern delegates in repudiating his point of view.

IV.

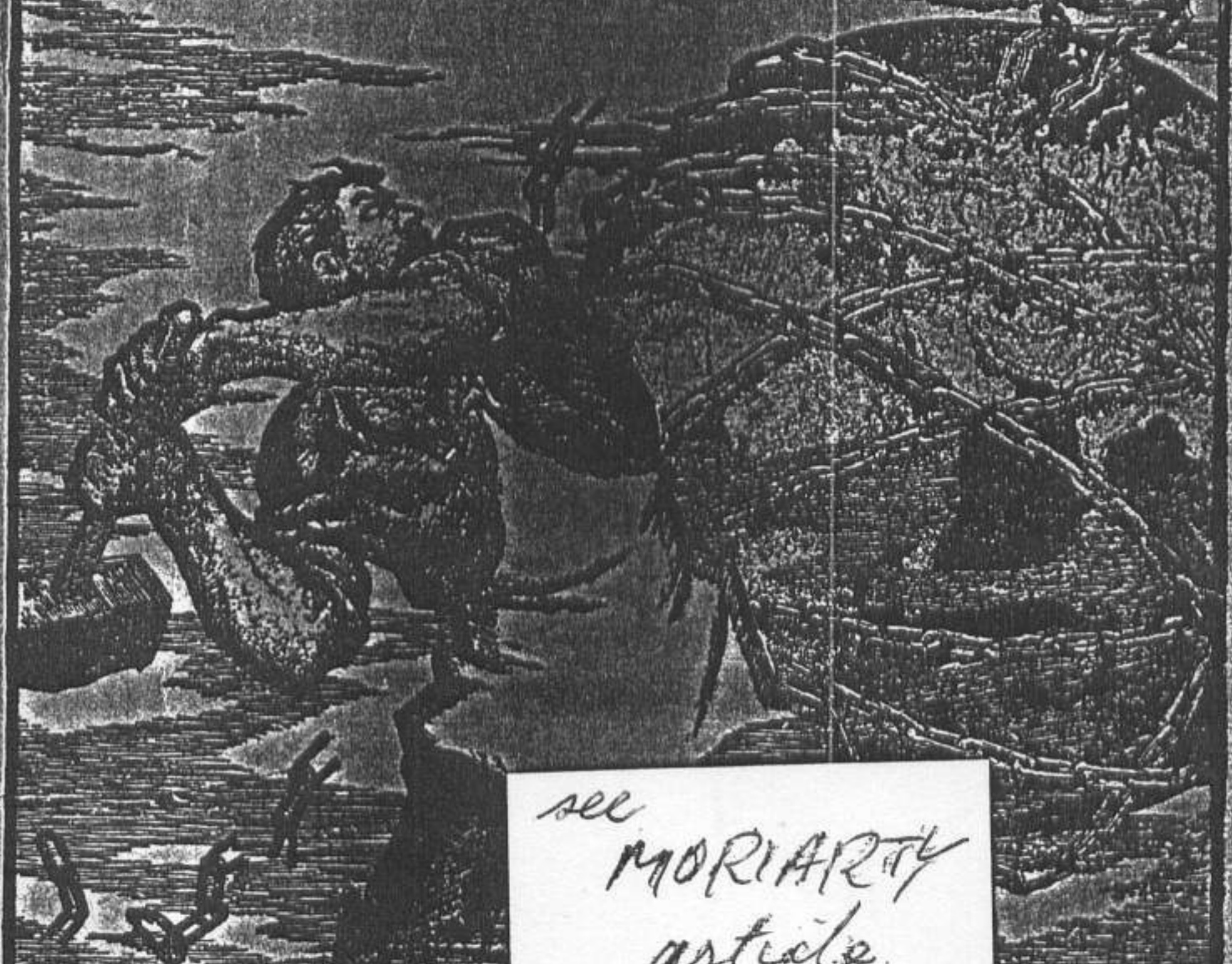
What are the prospects of the Party? The Workers' Party should be regarded as the potential Communist Party of today, and the open Communist Party of the near future. It is the only militant political organization of the workers in the field. With the exception of the Maritime Provinces it has established nation-wide connection. The membership of the Party is thoroughly imbued with the necessity of striving to mould the Party into a party of action, a party of the masses. The Party recognizes the urgent necessity of wresting the control of the organized labor movement from out [of] the hands of the labor bureaucrats. It recognizes that the organized labor movement gives the political tone to the working-class of the country. It is therefore embarking on becoming an integral part of the labor movement without losing its own party integrity and identity. It will strive to swing the Canadian Labor movement into line with the revolutionary labor movement of the world. The

Party has been organized but a very short time, yet it is already admitted even by the leaders of the Canadian Labor Party to be a potential force to be reckoned with. At the same time it is being watched by the workers of the whole country; those, that is, not yet of the militant vanguard; to see what the calibre of its activities and influence will be, and there is little doubt that if the Party continues to work in the spirit of the program and policies adopted by the Convention it will indeed not disappoint expectations and will become the leading political force of the workers generally.

(end)

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



see MORIARTY article. on Canadian union sovereignty

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1925 ?

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The Situation in Canada

CANADA to-day faces a future full of political significance as to her own standing as a section of the British Empire and has been assured on many occasions since Canada placed her mark upon the Versailles of her sovereignty, only to discover on just as many other occasions that she is considered yet far too young to face an Imperialist world alone. The Dominion is a member of the League of Nations; she has signed a full-fledged treaty with America; she has borrowed billions from her powerful neighbour upon her own responsibility; and yet as recently as January last, she was told by the Privy Council (of Britain), that the Industrial Disputes Act is "ultra vires" of the Dominion Government as violating the provisions of the British North America Act.

Under the terms of this B.N.A. Act, the Governor-General is an Imperial officer, whose consent must be obtained for any parliamentary measure before it can become law. The Imperial Parliament has not the power to disallow any Canadian parliamentary measure, although it can legislate for the whole Empire. But the Governor-General acts, not on the instruction of the British Parliament, but on that of the Crown which stands above Parliament. It can, therefore, be seen that the B.N.A. (British North America) Act apparently allows the Dominion free reign, but carefully restricts action when at any time the offspring moves too fast for the parent. It is not suggested here that the Industrial Disputes Act mentioned was declared to be of no standing because it was too progressive. The Act assumes importance chiefly because it provoked the Privy Council decision at a time when Canada was really tugging too vigorously at the "bonds" of Empire, and follows on the refusal of Britain to accept the terms of the Protocol and to imply that her decision covered all the Dominions. This again moved Canada to anger and brought forth a direct refusal to ratify the mother country's action or to bring forward counter or additional proposals.

All of the above is descriptive only of more recent happenings in Canadian political life and refer only to the tendency toward independence. As a rule the Canadian press is

silent upon such a dangerous subject and is apparently determined not to encourage popular discussion on these matters. The British press is more concerned as to Canada's future. On the other hand, we can observe the growing influence of America.

Prior to the war, Canada looked to Britain for her capital and British investments were heavy. The two transcontinental railroads promised profitable returns, and indicated a potential field for very successful investments. But the war changed matters greatly, and the flow of British capital subsided. Conversely with this decline was the increase in American investments until at the present moment America tops Britain's total slightly. The figures are: 2¾ billions of dollars for the U.S.A., and 2¼ billions of dollars for Great Britain. (1914 figures were United States 750 *millions* of dollars; Great Britain nearly 2¾ *billions* of dollars; since the war Britain has resold over 200 millions of her Canadian securities.) The major portion of the Yankee figure is behind industrial development, and naturally Britain's biggest total is agrarian. America's contribution to Canada's development was, unlike that of England, so framed as to bind the Canadian branches of her industries closely to the parent bodies. At present there are about 800 of these American "branch" factories in the Dominion, and these, coupled with other factors in the process of peaceful penetration (American films, newspaper correspondents, magazines, fraternal organisations like the Kiwania Club, etc., etc.), have all helped to show that Canadian interests lies not within the Empire, but without; and also serve to explain the Conservative protests against the destructive industrial competition of Britain. The psychological effect of the prolonged boom in the United States upon the Canadian populace has also been great for Canada has had no outlet in the crisis she has experienced since 1919. Hundreds of thousands of workers have entered the States from Canada and latterly the border has been closed even to citizens of many years standing. All of which has served to leave the impression that under complete American domination her poorer relative would prosper.

Economically, Canada goes from bad to worse. Her public debt has increased about 11 times since 1914; the 220 millions now standing at nearly 3 billions. Efforts to increase her population have all failed, at one period the greater part of 1923, emigration exceeded immigration. Unemployment has been rife, and in spite of the big crops

of 1923 and 1924, the poor farmers are poverty stricken. The farmers have fallen away in organisation since the days of their successes of 1919 and on. The Ontario farmers were decisively beaten at the 1923 provincial election; the maritime provinces organisation has almost disappeared; in Manitoba and Saskatchewan the farmers are behind the 62 "Progressive" members of the Federal House; but the support given the Liberal Party by this group preserves the present government in power, and labels the farmers as being really Liberal at heart. As a consequence, the Farmers' Union of Canada, an organisation of 600 branches, about 25,000 members and less than three years old, is anti-parliamentarian in outlook. This body contained revolutionary possibilities and actually in some places organised armed resistance to the Sheriff seizures. The Communist Parties have been active in this field, and have conducted a vigorous campaign for the Farmer-Labour Party. Our propagandists have been blacklisted by the F.U.C. officials, but we are now in definite connection by means of English-speaking branches, and quite a number of Finnish and Ukrainian comrades working as fractions. The problem of the farmers' movement has been aggravated by proposals of fusion of the more reactionary Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association and the Farmers' Union. These negotiations are likely to materialise and undoubtedly the inexperienced leadership of the F.U.C. will be as pawns in the hands of the more experienced politicians of the S.G.G.A. who will very quickly tone down the fighting qualities of the poorer farmers' movement. In Alberta the provincial legislature is still in the hands of the farmers, and the leadership here is at the least much more progressive. But all in all, there is much need for work before we will be able to say that the farmers are anti-capitalist. Our efforts must be directed toward winning the poor farmers over to closer contact with their exploited industrial brethren; to expose those Liberals who are masquerading under the guise of "Progressives" and to break down the opposition to parliamentary action by our propaganda for the Farmer-Labour Party, and at the same time avoid the possible dangers of too great contact between the reactionary elements of the Canadian Labour Party and the office-seekers of the older established farmer organisations.

The trade union movement is in the hands of complete reactionaries. The official organisation is the Dominion Trades Congress, which only differs from the A. F. of L. in that it supports the Canadian Labour Party and is affiliated with Amsterdam. In all other matters can be seen the

imprints of Gomperism. As a result, the C.P.C. has been agitating for autonomy for the Canadian movement, *i.e.*, to establish the right to call general strikes and to govern its own affairs. This would allow greater support for any general strike of which there have been several of late years of great importance, but in regard to which the Congress might have ben non-existent. For instance, the present (March) Nova Scotia miners' strike is but a continuation of the struggles of the past few years, which have all been refused support by Lewis, the reactionary head of the United Mine Workers of America, on the grounds that the 100 per cent. strike is contrary to the constitution and principles of the U.M.W.A. Yet there is no other recourse left to the workers than that of a complete tie-up; for they have had to battle with the provincial police, governmental troops and arrests and imprisonments. Of particular appeal is the Communist slogan of Nationalisation of the Mines. In the East (Nova Scotia) as touched upon above, the miners have had to fight on all fronts against the Central British Empire Steel Corporation (BESCO). Even the U.M.W.A. officials have lined up with BESCO against the men, taking away the charter and installing a provisional executive which was only withdrawn when it became evident that the beginning of 1925 would see another wage struggle. The consequent elections resulted in the return of a full Communist slate, whose fighting qualities are being tested by the strike already mentioned.

The Western miners are unfortunate in that their leadership is Lewis-controlled, and this resulted in their defeat after the six months' strike which ended last October. Dissatisfaction is general, and is becoming more pronounced with every move of the reactionaries. The names of Communists have been struck off the ballots, and the sentiment thus created by the lack of fight on the part of the executive is producing apathy, and even in some cases (Fernie, Michel) withdrawal from the U.M.W.A. and acceptance of the company union. It is in this section that we find most deeply rooted the antipathy towards participation in the yearly Trades Congress. The left-wing minimises the importance of carrying on the struggle against reaction on every possible occasion, and this attitude is partly responsible for the weakness of our delegations. Other causes are financial in origin.

The campaign for International Trade Union Unity is receiving support from the masses, which will undoubtedly

increase as the movement grows. The majority of trade unionists allied with the Congress are of British origin, and will follow the lead already given by the Old Country movements. But on the other hand, the executive will be under pressure also from the American Federation of Labour, and the anti-unity section of Amsterdam. The American sentiment is already expressed in the refusal to even affiliate with Amsterdam, so everything will depend upon the activity of the left-wing among the rank and file if we are to see last year's Congress decision reversed.

The Canadian Labour Party is not yet established as a Dominion—wide organisation. There are provincial sections established in Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia. The Communists are firmly established in each section, and work well as party fractions. But the reformists are not keen to see the C.L.P. develop along present lines. The Communists are pushing a little too steadily toward the left for the comfort of those who prefer the social possibilities contained in an emulation of MacDonaldism. But the rank and file are behind the left, and there is no doubt that any attempt made to exclude our Party would stir up too much trouble for the reactionaries. Efforts are still being made to extend the activity of the Labour Party into other fields beside those of purely electoral endeavour, but distance and other difficulties make progress slow.

In coping with all of the above problems, the Canadian Party has acquitted itself well enough when allowances are made for the composition of our membership, the immense distances, prolonged unemployment, and the loss of many of our active spirits who have been forced to seek work in America. But our influence is steadily growing and the English-speaking workers becoming less shy of associating themselves with a Communist Party, resulting in a desirable influx of new members. This will assist materially in our tasks of establishing Canadian Trade Union autonomy; in the fight for World Unity; the struggle for freedom from imperialist domination; the abolition of the British North America Act, which serves as a shield of our politicians on each question as unemployment relief and the 8-hour day; and the important matter of bringing the poor farmers into alignment with the industrial workers so as to facilitate the struggle for the Canadian Workers' and Farmers' Republic.

W. MORIARTY.

8 C 0133

SYNOPSIS OF PROCEEDINGS OF

ENLARGED EXECUTIVE MEETING, HELD

TORONTO, OCT. 20th, 21st and 22nd. 1928

Present: Comrades Spector, Buck, Menzies, M. Buhay, Roberts, MacDonald, Hill, Alquist, Latva, Halpern, Kobsey, Boychuk, Ryan,
Rosenberg (District 2)
Shoesmith (District 3)
Thatchuk (District 4)
Wirta (District 5)
Comrade Buller from "The Worker."

Comrade Vaara from "Vapaus," and Comrade Popovich were present. On decision of the Pol-Com, C.P. of C., the Pol-Com of the N.E.C. of the Y.C.L. were present without voice or vote.

Comrade Halpern requested that Comrade Shure from the National Jewish Agit-Prop should be seated without voice or vote. This was agreed to.

AGENDA:
1. Report of Sixth Congress to C.I.
2. Ukrainian Question (Agit-Prop Appeal to C.I.).
3. Y.C.L. Report
4. Party Convention.
5. Organizational Tour of Party Units.

Comrade Rosenberg raised the question of placing the French Canadian question on the Agenda. Decision was made against placing any additional item on the Agenda at this time.

REPORT OF THE DELEGATION TO THE SIXTH CONGRESS

Comrade MacDonald reported

Approximately five hundred Delegates attended the Congress. Seventy-five of these were Delegates from Colonial countries, and over a hundred were there from non-European countries.

The Congress lasted for a period of six weeks. Items one and three on the Agenda particularly the most important item of the Programme occupied the major portion of time, and an extensive and high level of discussion was maintained.

The International Situation

Comrade Bukharin reported for the Executive of the C.I. He divided Post War Developments into three parts. Firstly the period of actue revolutionary crisis, particularly in Europe the culminating point of which was 1920 and 1921. This period included the February and October Revolutions in Finland, Austria, Germany Hungary, etc. This period can be said to have come to an end at the close of 1923 when in the Autumn of that year, severe defeats were suffered by the workers in Bulgaria and Germany.

8 C 0140

Slogan of Canadian Independence

Comrade MacDonald reported that this question had been discussed at great length on the Delegation and the thesis drafted regarding same. The Delegation was agreed that the Canadian Party would have to reorientate itself on this question. While it was true that since our first approach to the question of Canadian Independence, we had altered our line considerably, and when referring to this question in our report to the C.I. at the Sixth Congress, had referred to the Canadian Beourgoicie as a Partner of British Imperialism rather than a colony of the British Empire. Our official documents, leaflets, etc., however still referr to Canada as a colony. Comrade MacDonald read excerpts from a leaflet issued by the Party, entitled the Federal Elections and the Consitutional issue in proof of this.

The first document from the C.I. on this question, was quoted by Comrade MacDonald. This document stated:-

> "The chief enemy is British Imperialisms which holds the entire Government apparatus of Canada in its hands, and which does not only represent the peril of oppression in the future, but also oppression and exploitation in the present. The main struggle should be directed against British Imperialism, the British Monarchy and the British Beourgoicie the Party should fight energetically for the abrogation of the British North America Act."

In the last letter of the C.I. to the Party, received prior to the last Convention, there is a certain modification of this line. In the main however, the Party had approached the question of Canadian Independence as a ~~constitutional~~ constitutional issue. It had demanded that the Canadian Government repudiate the British North America Act, declare its Independence etc. Our reorientation on this question is to a great extent summed up in paragraph five of the thesis referred to.

> "The slogan of Canadian Independence under the workers and Farmers Government is not a slogan against colonial oppression which holds the perspective of the developement of the Proletariat Revolution through the stage of the Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and peasantry."

The slogan of Canadian Independence under the workers and farmers Government is a slogan directed in the first place against the Canadian Beourgoicie and at the same time against British and American Imperialism not from the standpoint of Beourgois National self determination, but from the standpoint of the Proletariat Revolution. It is a slogan of the Proletariat Revolution in Canada, in accordance with the peculiar concrete conditions.

In a discussion with the A.A.S., the suggestion had been made to drop the slogan entirely. The consensus of opinion was however, against such action. As the thesis states, the stategical slogan of Canadian Independence under a Workers and Farmers Government has six purposes to fulfil.

(a) The primary function of the slogan is to link up the Revolutionary working class struggle against the Canadian Beourgoisie with the struggle against Imperialism and the War Danger.

(b) The slogan has the purpose of breaking the hold of British jingoist propaganda upon the Canadian masses.

(c) The slogan must be used to expose the reactionary character of the Nationalist Canadianism.

(d) The slogan is the correct weapon for rallying the poor farmers, who are still under Pacifist illusions, against the coming war.

(e) The slogan constitutes the correct approach of the Party to the French masses.

(f) The slogan must be used in the work of building a mass non-Party, Anti-Imperialist organization.

Trade Union Policy

Continuing, Comrade MacDonald reported that a profitable discussion on the Delegation had taken place on the question of our Trade Union policy in Canada. He had also discussed this question with the A.A.S., of the Profintern. There seems to be some doubt on the efficacy of our slogan of "Amalgamation of the two Congresses." This tends to give the impression of a mere mechanical fusion of the officialdoms of the two Congresses. Unity from above rather than from below. While at our last Convention, our approach to the question of National Unity is quite properly stated in the Resolution adopted, the "Amalgamation of the two Congresses is still to a great extent our Central Slogan. Our pronouncements, articles and leaflets on the Canadian Trade Union question have not been as definite and clear as they ought to have.

There are many difficulties in the work in Canada, of course, and these must not be minimized. The Delegation had drafted a short statement on the Trade Union policy, C.P.C., this was read by Comrade MacDonald.

See Statement attached.

The Canadian Labor Party

This question had also been discussed. It had been agreed that despite the withdrawals from the C.L.P. and the increased sabotage of the Social Democrats, the main line of our policy was corredt. Since the Delegation left, however, there had been other happenings of great important, such as the withdrawal of the I.L.P. and certain Trade Unions in British Columbia, and the withdrawal of the Earlscourt Labor Party in Toronto. This might mean the liquidation in certain localities of the United Front has expressed through the C.L.P.

The Party must fight energetically against the Social Democratic forces who are endeavouring to smash the C.L.P. More work must be done in the Trade Union to maintain and increase the affiliations. There must be no capitulation of the Party however, to the Social Democratic forces while offering the United Front to all working class organizations willing to fight on a programme of working class struggle. The Party at all times must maintain its identity and where no C.L.P. is possible, must enter the field with its own forces against the I.L.P. and the Social Democrats.

It was the opinion of the Delegation that the demand for the Abolition of the Senate should be dropped, as it had a parliamentary-reformist content.

Finnish Language Work

Delegation were of the opinion that our Comrades in the Finnish Organization of Canada must fight for a policy of having the Executive Committee of that organization decide on the merits of widening the scope of the organization rather than adopt a policy of allowing the initiative to come from the Local Units.

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Maurice Spector: Letter to the Political Committee

Toronto, November 6, 1928

To the Political Committee, Communist Party of Canada

Following upon the motion at yesterday's session of the Polcom to endorse the expulsion of the three comrades, J.P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, and Martin Abern, from the Workers Party of America for their stand on behalf of the opening of a serious discussion of the fundamental problems of the Communist International, a motion which I was unable to support, certain questions have been directed to me by the Polcom as to my own position. These may be boiled down to the following: First, whether I believe that the ideological line of "Trotskyism" is correct and whether I am prepared to carry on an aggressive campaign against "Trotskyism" and the comrades who had been expelled from the W.P. for their solidarity with the platform of the Russian Opposition.

In reply I wish to state that the bureaucratic expulsion of these comrades and the attempt to ratify their expulsion by our own Polcom in mechanical fashion has precipitated [and] crystalized my own stand. Since 19231 have had reservations about the line of the Communist International, but I have always relegated my own doubts into the background in the interests of Comintern and Party discipline and unity. I was not fully convinced that the discussions of the Lessons of October "catastrophe" in Germany had been carried on in the way it would have been while Lenin was an active participant in the life of our International. I was not satisfied that the estimation of the International situation made by the Fifth Congress was correct. In my view the fight against the Russian opposition dating back from 1923 was confused by the unreal issue of "Trotskyism." The conception of Boishevization was mechanical. The "discussions" that were carried on on this issue were mostly farcical; a one-sided presentation of the documents of the majority and the systematic suppression of the documents of the Opposition. As an instance of the bureaucratic method of "discussing," there was the demand made for a stand by our Political Committee condemning "Trotskyism" during the period of the discussion of L.D. Trotsky's "Lessons of October," before even any of us here had read the very preface about which the whole controversy raged in the Soviet Union. I believe that our Polcom took a correct stand in the cablegram it sent in reply on this question.

I had always hoped that the "pressure of events," the logic of history in the present period of relative stabilization of Capitalism, would straighten out the official line of the Comintern. It is now clear to me that it is insufficient for a revolutionist to "wait and see." His active ideological intervention is necessary if a correct line, failing which all discipline is hollow, is to be arrived at.

An additional reason for my hesitation was that I, along with hundreds of thousands of other members of the sections of the C.I., had no first hand information as to the position of the Russian Opposition, but only the garbled extracts contained in the official thesis. On my way back from the Sixth Congress, however, I fortunately came into possession of the suppressed documents of the Opposition, which I have carefully studied since and which have resolved all my doubts and brought me to my present unequivocal position.

In reply to the question whether I am prepared "to wage an aggressive campaign against 'Trotskyism'," I can assure the Polcom that I am prepared to wage an aggressive campaign for Leninism. Historical Trotskyism was liquidated with the entrance of L.D. Trotsky into the Communist Party and his collaboration with Lenin following his return to Russia in 1917. Trotsky has declared before the Russian Party that in all questions bearing any character of principle at all in which he had differences with Lenin prior to 1917, Lenin was correct. The revival of the issue of so-called "Trotskyism" by the majority in 1924 and 1925 was an attempt to obscure the real issues by an artificial issue. Zinoviev, who was one of the leading comrades in the fight against Trotsky, has not only admitted since that the latter was correct in his fight for internal Party democracy in 1923-4, but also that the issue of "Trotskyism" was then invented by himself and a few other comrades for strategical purposes, to link up the current differences with differences that had long passed into history.

The comrades in the vanguard of the fight against "Trotskyism" were most of them further removed from the position of Lenin on his return to Russia and his presentation of the April Theses of 1917, than L.D. Trotsky. Zinoviev and Kamenev, Rykov, Losovsky, etc., were opposed to the insurrection by which the Bolsheviks conquered power and were for a coalition of all the Socialist parties. Comrade Stalin, prior to Lenin's return, had written articles for co-operation with Tseretelli. When so much is made of the differences between Trotsky and Lenin in the course of the revolution itself, it should be borne in mind that all these differences are being exaggerated for factional ends, and that silence is maintained on the differences that other comrades, Bukharin for instance, had with Lenin, but who is nevertheless regarded as a one hundred percent Leninist. Comrade Bukharin not only fought Lenin on the Brest Litovsk issue but also on the Trade Union question and on the question of State Capitalism. On the Peasant question he was the author of one of the most dangerous slogans ever put out by a leading comrade: the slogan of "enrich yourselves," the objective significance of which meant a call on the Kulaks to intensify their exploitation of the poor peasantry. The present leader of the C.I., Bukharin, had to be overruled on the question of the validity of partial demands in the Communist Program by the intervention of Lenin, Trotsky and others at the Fourth Congress.

Not only did Lenin during his lifetime deny all slanderous rumors of any differences between himself and Trotsky on the Peasant Question, but up to his last days he considered L.D. Trotsky his closest collaborator as may be seen by the correspondence which passed between these two leaders of the revolution in the "Letter to the Institute of Party History" by L.D. Trotsky. Lenin called upon the latter to defend his views for him on the following questions: the National Question, the Question of Workers and Peasants Control, the Monopoly of Foreign Trade, the Struggle against Bureaucracy, etc. It is high time that a stop be put to the falsification of Party history that has accompanied the unscrupulous and demagogic campaign against the revolutionist who, next to Lenin, was the most authentic leader and organizer of the October revolution, and was so recognized by Lenin himself. Trotsky today stands foursquare for the maintenance of the principles of Leninism; uncontaminated by the opportunist deviations that have been smuggled into the Comintern and USSR policy by the present Rykov-Stalin-Bukharin regime and to which the lessons of the Chinese revolution, the economic situation in the USSR, the situation within the CPSU, and the experiences of the Anglo-Russian Committee bear eloquent witness.

For these are the real issues. In retrospect it is clear that the Sixth Congress, meeting after a delay of four years, nevertheless failed to measure up to its great tasks. Eclecticism and a zig-zag line replaced a real analysis of the rich treasures of political experience of the past four years. The discussion of the Chinese revolution, the greatest upheaval since the November Revolution, was utterly inadequate. As in the case of the discussion of the failure of October 1923 in Germany, the attempt to throw major responsibility for what happened on the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party will not (go) down. The responsibility for the opportunism of our party in China lies in the first place with the ECCI and with the formulation of policy of Stalin, Bukharin, Martynov. Lenin at the II Congress proposed a clear line on the Colonial question, for the independence of the Communist Parties and the working class movement even in embryonic form; against the National bourgeoisie, struggle for proletarian hegemony in the National emancipation movement even when the National Revolution has only bourgeois democratic tasks to solve; constant propaganda of the Soviet idea and creation of Soviets at the earliest moment possible; finally, possibility of the non-capitalist development of backward colonial and semi-colonial countries on condition that they receive support from the USSR and the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries.

Otherwise, Lenin pointed out, the alliance with the national bourgeoisie would be dangerous to the revolution. This alliance could only be effected on the basis that the bourgeoisie carried on an effective struggle against Imperialism and did not prevent the Communist Party from organizing the revolutionary action of the workers and peasants. Failure to exact these guarantees would lead to a repetition of the Kemalism of the Turkish national struggle which has made its peace with Imperialism. Nearly every one of these cardinal points of Lenin's revolutionary colonial policy was violated in China. By throwing up the smokescreen that the creation of Soviets would be tantamount to the dictatorship of the proletariat, despite the fact that Lenin proposed the Soviets already as a form of the democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants in the 1905 revolution, the leadership of the Comintern misrepresented the criticism and theses of the Opposition and covered up their own opportunist mistakes.

Our Chinese party was subordinated to the National bourgeoisie in the Kuomintang under the cover of the old Menshevik Martynov's policy of the "Bloc of Four Classes" (renunciation of the right to criticize Sun Yatsenism, renunciation of an illegal fighting apparatus and of the creation of cells in the National Army). The working class movement was subordinated to the Government of the National bourgeoisie (prohibition in certain cases of picketing and strikes, disarmament of the workers, etc.) The CP maintained silence at the beginning of the repression period (coup d'état (of) Chiang Kai-shek etc.). The Enlarged Executive of the CI did not subsequently straighten out the line. The slogan of Soviets was issued not when the revolutionary movement was at its height but when the bourgeoisie had already betrayed the movement against Imperialism and the workers and peasants were being decimated. Stalin was making a speech still hailing Chiang Kai-shek as a revolutionary warrior only a few days prior to Chiang Kai-shek's coup, in a speech which was criticized at the time by Comrade Radek, and which was of course suppressed to avoid compromising himself.

The opportunist line followed in the Chinese revolution is of course by no means isolated. I have dwelt at some length on the revision of Lenin's principles contained in the Stalin-Bukharin policy in China, and one could dwell with equal length on the opportunist line followed in the refusal to break with the traitorous British General Council in the Anglo-Russian Committee. The Anglo-Russian Committee was a political bloc between

two trade union centers. The proposal of the Opposition demonstratively to break with the General Council was falsely represented as being parallel to leaving the old unions. Any Communist who reads the resolutions adopted by the Anglo-Russian conferences of Paris, July 1926 and Berlin, August 1926, and finally of the Berlin Conference at the beginning of April 1927 should convince himself that an absolutely impermissible capitulation line was followed. At the latter meeting the Soviet representatives went on record recognizing the General Council "as the sole representative and spokesman" of the British Trade Union movement at a time when the traitors of the General Council were suppressing the Minority Movement. But at the Enlarged Executive of May 1927, Comrade Bukharin sought to justify the Berlin capitulation by the theory of "exceptional circumstances," that is, that it was in the diplomatic interests of the Soviet Union which was under threat of war danger from the provocation of the British Government.

Such an attitude has little in common with the instructions of Lenin to the Soviet delegation that went to the Hague Conference, to ruthlessly unmask the Pacifists and Reformists. By the policy pursued in the Anglo-Russian Committee the British Communist Party developed such a degree of opportunism that it was at first even opposed to the Soviet Trade Union manifesto denouncing the treachery of the Left as well as the Right Labor fakers of the General Council, and wanted to continue a fight for the re-establishment of the moribund Anglo-Russian Committee. The whole line followed in the Anglo-Russian Committee was, like that in the Chinese Revolution, based on maneuvers with the Reformists at the top instead of regard for the unleashing of the mass movement below.

What is the social basis of these opportunist deviations? Unquestionably, the retardation of the World Revolution, the relative stabilization of Capitalism, the defeats in China, Germany, Great Britain, Bulgaria, etc., and the difficulties of socialist construction in the USSR have exercized their telling influence, and have provoked a desire upon the part of certain elements ip the RCP to follow the line of lesser resistance, to solve the difficulties, National and International, not by the harder road of hewing to Leninism, but by the apparently easier theory of "socialism in one country."

Up to 1924, Stalin understood "that for the definitive victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country and above all, of an agricultural country such as ours, are not sufficient. For this the efforts of several advanced countries are necessary." But after 1924 a theory was developed based obviously on a conviction that the stabilization of capitalism would last for decades, that the construction of Socialism could be completed within the USSR alone, granted only freedom from military intervention. This theory has nothing in common with Lenin's conception of the revolutionary character of the present epoch, and is akin more closely to the theory of Narodnikism (populism). It is a theory which, if its implications are followed is bound to lead to a form of National Socialism. From the economic point of view it is a Utopian mirage for which neither Marx nor Engels nor Lenin are responsible, and the program of the Comintern will never be a completely correct guide to the revolutionary movement unless it breaks with this theory.

The economic analysis of the Opposition on the situation within the USSR, on the danger of the growth of the kulak, the Nep-man,* and the bureaucrat has been completely vindicated. Undoubtedly there are Thermidorean elements in the country which are striving to bring their class pressure to bear on the Party. The highest duty of a revolutionist is to warn of these dangers and to propose the necessary measures to

combat them. That was always the case while Lenin was alive.

*(*NEP-MAN: the "New Economic Policy" was an urgent plan proposed by Lenin to ease severe peasant-State frictions due to Western trade blockades with economic concessions on private grain sales – Ed.)*

The crisis last February in connection with the grain collection proved strikingly the danger of the Kulak. The events in Smolensk, the Don Basin, the Ukraine, etc., proved the absolute necessity not only for such a campaign of self criticism as Comrade Stalin felt the need to initiate, but for effective internal Party democracy. One of the first guarantees of such real Party democracy would be the return of the exiled revolutionary Oppositionists, and their reinstatement with full rights to their former positions in the Party.

In 1921, Lenin wrote the golden words, "It is necessary that every member of the Party should study calmly and with the greatest objectivity, first the substance of the differences of opinion, and then the development of the struggles within the Party. Neither the one nor the other can be done unless the documents of both sides are published. He who takes anybody's word for it is a hopeless idiot, who can be disposed of with a simple gesture of the hand. . ." I therefore consider it my duty to call upon the CEC of the Communist Party of Canada to set an example by carrying on a real discussion of the decisions and resolutions of the Sixth Congress and by publishing in the Party Press all the documents, Theses on China, on the Anglo-Russian Committee, etc., of the Opposition which have hitherto been suppressed. I further call upon our Party to take a stand for the unity of the Comintern and all its sections on the basis of Leninism and for the return of LD. Trotsky and his comrades to their rightful positions in the Party.

I have been a foundation member of the Communist Party of Canada since its organization, in which I took a joint part. I have also been a member of the CEC practically all the time since. Regardless of the immediate organizational consequences, I find myself compelled to make the above statement and to further register the fact that nothing on earth can separate me from the Revolutionary Communist movement. Everything that I have stated flows from my conviction that the deviations from Leninism in the C.I. can and must be corrected by a struggle within the International and its sections.

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the Proletarian Revolution!

(Signed) Maurice Spector. Member CEC, C.P. of C.

Note by Angus: Maurice Spector/s " Letter to the PC" was written immediately after his suspension from the Communist Party for refusing to support the expulsion of James Cannon, Max Shachtman, and Martin Abern from the US party. He was expelled a few days later. A shortened version of the letter appeared in *The Militant* in 1928. The full text was found and made available to me by professor William Rodney.

The Cult of the "Third Period"

by Maurice Spector (Excerpts, 1929: ***US Trotskyism Part 1-1928-1965,*** *Paul Le Blanc,, Bryan Palmer, Thomas Bias, Haymarket Books, 2017, p33)*

The "cloud by day and pillar of fire by night" that the Stalin('s) ECCI conjures up to shield its disastrous ultra-left zigzag, is the so-called 'Third Period' invented in the theses of the Comintern Congress* last July. Now in every *Daily Worker* contribution to the fraudulent "enlightenment campaign" this 'Third Period' is invoked with deadly monotony as the latest all-sufficient, all-hallowing fetish before which the credulous party member must make the sign of the cross. *(*congress of world parties adhering to 3rd International; ECCI: executive committee of this body, the Comintern being dissolved in 1945 by Stalin as a diplomatic gesture –Ed.)*

Juggling with 'Periods'

Four years elapsed between the Fifth and Sixth Congresses, during which time the revamped ECCI was the obedient instrument and rubber-stamp of the ruling Right-Center (Rykov-Bucharin-Stalin) bloc. [A]t the Sixth Congress, when Bucharin and Stalin did their juggling with the 'periods', the official *Communist International (Vol. VI No. 9-10)* recently smuggled in an editorial admission that "in 1926-7 ... on the basis of the partial stabilization of capitalism, a revolutionary crisis developed in the far West and East." This is what the Communist Opposition, of course, said in those years when it was most important to say it. But for transparent reasons the theses of the Sixth Congress (1928) define the interval between the Fifth and Sixth Congresses, inclusive of 1926-7, the "second period of the post-war capitalism," in a way to suggest that it was not a period of revolutionary possibilities. In the recapitulation of the attributes of this 'second period', its architects conveniently 'forget' to mention the facts of the Chinese Revolution, the British General Strike and the Viennese uprising. It is merely spoken of as a period of "relative stabilization, defensive struggles of the workers, successful socialist construction in the USSR, growing political influence of the Communist Parties, and inner consolidation of the Comintern." Nine-tenths of this characterization is falsehood and the remaining tenth needs qualification.

The method of optimistic lying to maintain the prestige of the leadership and keep up the 'morale' of the home populace is not Marxist but was habitually resorted to by the general staffs in their communiqués during the late world war. The history of the 'second period' was falsified to stifle discussion and prevent the heavy accounting that otherwise Stalin and Bucharin would have had to render. They would have had to explain why they failed to give the correct Bolshevik leadership that would have utilized the revolutionary possibilities of this period to develop offensives for the overthrow of the stabilization. They would have had to admit that they displayed no revolutionary initiative but pursued such right-wing and centrist policies that objectively helped to strengthen capitalism; that they staked nearly all on the Kuomintang bourgeoisie, undermined the independence of the Chinese Communist Party, and opposed the propagation of the Soviets. They would have been found guilty of transforming the British Communist Party and the Minority movement into adjuncts of the British General Council, incapable of offering any substantial resistance to the betrayal of the General Strike. Under the shadow of their regime, the Viennese uprising found the Communist Party helpless and bewildered, the Sacco-Vanzetti demonstrations developed really outside the orbit of the Cominterm influence. (T)he French Party after heroic proclamations against the American Legion, turned tail and retired for polite demonstration to a Parisian suburb and the Red Day organized by the Czech Party against Fascism was turned into a farce by the passivity of the leadership.

The extension of the political influence of the Communist parties and their inner consolidation during this period are equally myths. The machine man Piatnitski's brochure *0rganization of the World Party* establishes for the critical reader that the membership of nearly every communist party declined, as did their trade union influence, press circulation and political activity of the nuclei. The membership of the American Party, it may be recalled, fell from 16,325 in 1925 to 7,277 in 1928. The proceedings of the Sixth Congress will show that every 'monolithic' party was rent by violent factional struggles that resulted in fresh splits in Czecho-Slovakia, the United States, Germany, in addition to those which had already taken place in France, Holland, Belgium, and the Soviet Union. The authors of the 'second' and 'third' periods equally misrepresent the real situation in the Soviet Union, where under their regime the growth of the restorationist elements culminated in a bloodless uprising of the Kulaks creating the grain crisis, of 1927-8, and they omit to record the unparalleled development of bureaucracy in party and state apparatus.

A 'New Line' for a 'New Period'

[T]he rank and file was beginning to get restive. The hammer-blows of the Opposition platform were beginning to sink in especially as the passage of events continued swiftly to vindicate its every important argument and criticism. Repression, deportation, expulsion, slander, and victimization were proving insufficient for the bureaucracy to maintain their grip on office. The grain crisis in Russia[1] the Chiang Kai-Shek coup in China, the corpse of the Anglo-Russian committee, the consequent weakening of the international position of the Soviet Union ..., the exposures of degeneration and corruption in the party and state machines, were too flagrant to dispose of with mere abuse of the Opposition. The growing unrest had to be canalized. The old gag of 'bolshevization' had lost its force. So resort was had first to 'self criticism', which meant anything but criticism, of the leadership, and secondly, a 'new line' for a 'new period'. At the Fifteenth Russian Party Congress (1927) and at the subsequent Ninth Plenum of the ECCI the outlines and the strategy of the 'Third Period' began to emerge. The sophistic Bucharin suddenly discovered that the social-democratic leaders were merging with the state-apparatus and were traitors to the working class and that henceforth only a 'united front from below' was permissible. ... Furthermore said Bucharin, the independent role of the communist parties must now be strengthened ... with the slogan of 'Class Against Class' for use in forthcoming struggles. Apparently Bucharin-Stalin would have us believe the communist parties knew and practised nothing of their independent role during the active leadership of Lenin before the 'class against class' slogan was launched.

The 'Third Period' with which the 'Right Danger' was tied up, blossomed out into full glory at the Sixth Congress. Bucharin and Stalin, Serrati and Ercoli, Ewert and Thaelmann, Lovestone and Foster equally gave it their blessing. It was a meaningless and platitudinous substitute for the concrete Marxist analysis of the given class relations and world situation upon which communist strategy must base itself. The 'Third Period' is defined as one of capitalist stabilization but of growing contradictions which leads to the danger of fresh wars for the shrinking world market, sharpens the danger of an attack on the Soviet Union, and brings with it a leftward movement of the working class and an intensification of the general crisis of capitalism. This definition adds exactly nothing to the fundamental and elementary communist conception of the epoch of imperialism as one of wars and revolutions and capitalist decline which was as true at the Third Congress in 1922 as at the Sixth in 1928. But because it is so general and vague, the definition of the 'Third Period' unanimously endorsed by the Right and Center at the Congress, has also served as the argument of each of these factions against the other since the struggle in the Right-Center bloc began to assume sharper forms.

The Comintem Rights

The Right Wing in the Soviet Union bases itself socially on the state bureaucracy, and the upper crust of the labor aristocracy, and the new possessing classes. It worked out its real perspectives on the international situation and the stabilization in common with the centrist Stalin party apparatus, in

the theory of socialism in one country which is the revision of the international socialist character of the Russian revolution. It implies the stabilization of capitalism for decades, the attempted retreat to the theoretical positions of the party in 1905 (bourgeois revolution). The “Rights” in the Comintern must formulate their outlook less bluntly than the social democracy which expresses its outright belief in the consolidation of capitalism as a progressive historical factor. The tradition of Marx and Lenin is still strong in the Communist masses, and this compels the Rights to proceed in roundabout ways....

The ultra-left zigzag is represented by the Russian party bureaucracy which is centrist -- that is, it swings between social democracy and communism, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The strength of Stalin is in the party apparatus, which however, is more subject to the pressure of the party masses, with their revolutionary traditions of October. Jointly responsible for the opportunist theories and course of the past six years with the Rights, the fear of the influence of the Opposition among the industrial workers and the awakening of their revolutionary class consciousness, has led the Center to advertise a 'swing to the left', a move which is either shadow-boxing or a swing to the left of the Marxist line. The centrist staffs of the parties of the Comintern, subsidized appointees of Stalin, imitate their master closely or follow out instructions implicitly. The centrists seek to extricate themselves from the fruits of their past collaboration with the Rights unsuccessfully because they cannot follow a true Marxist policy without recognizing the monstrous errors committed in the fight against the Leninist Opposition. Hence the obverse side of Stalin's cooperation with Chiang Kai-Shek is the Canton Putsch.

Ultra-Left Adventurism of Centrists

The centrists interpret their 'Third Period' as an almost immediate revolutionary and war situation. The May Day events in Germany were hailed in extravagant terms as a proof of the rising tide of the revolutionary movement. The terms of the call of the Western European Bureau of the Comintern leave little doubt that the First of August was conceived as some sort of dress rehearsal for the insurrection. The Soviet Union is pictured as in danger of imminent attack. Fascism and social democracy are identified without regard for their specific political functions. The social democratic worker is characterized as the most reactionary element of the working class, and the unorganized worker as the most revolutionary. The leftward movement of the working class is monstrously exaggerated. The slogans of 'united front from below' and 'class against class' are used to liquidate the policy of the united front in general and in the trade union work in particular. All warnings are disregarded. ... The results of this ultra-left adventurism are seen clearly in the United States in the isolation of the party in the fight for *Gastonia**, in the debacle of the left-wing furriers' strike which it was responsible for, in its failure to exercise any influence on the cloak makers stoppage, in the loss of its base in the needle trades in general, in the playing with the idea of a new socialist trades and labor alliance of dual unions, in its inability to maneuver in connection with the new progressive movement in the trade unions. For the real Left in the Comintern, the Communist Opposition, the basic estimate of the epoch given by Lenin remains valid today as it was several years ago when it began to fight the theory of national socialism. No real Marxist policy can be pursued until the program of the International is cleared of revisionist undergrowth. We recognize more than ever the force of Lenin's dictum that without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practise. The decline of the capitalist system, however, does not proceed in an unbroken curve. The defeats of the proletariat in 1923 helped the capitalists stabilize the system, and gave the social democracy a new lease of life though on a different basis than before 1914. We cannot disregard the fact that the defeats in China, Great Britain, have not strengthened but weakened the proletariat. The contradictions of capitalism are again in the process of maturing and not explosion. *(*reference unknown –Ed.)*

Class against Class

The leftward movement of the workers must not be exaggerated. There is such a movement but it still flows in reformist and parliamentary channels. In Europe it is a movement from the bourgeois parties to the social democracy and on a much smaller scale to the communist parties. In the United States it takes the comparatively primitive form of sporadic struggles in the worst paid industries, in a certain revival of progressivism in the trade unions, in scattered signs of labor party sentiment. Our policies must be adapted accordingly. The united front must be our guide to the winning of the masses, and unity must be our slogan in the trade unions even while we proceed legitimately to the organization of the unorganized. The slogan of 'class against class' as issued by the Comintern looks terribly radical but is in reality a reversion to the Lassallean theory of the single reactionary mass outside the industrial workers. A class movement is not created by the use of so general a slogan but on the basis of the concrete needs and demands of the workers in their developing struggles linked up with the final goals. Not 'class against class' but peace, land and bread was the slogan launched by the Bolsheviki even in the directly revolutionary crisis of 1917. The period requires concrete programs of action, flowing not only from the revolutionary estimate of the international situation but expressing the specific characteristic and demands of the situation in each country. The senseless confusion of social democracy and fascism must be abandoned. The former play their main role as agents of the bourgeoisie in the peaceful parliamentary period and the fascisti are their arm in the period of direct civil war, and different tactics must be applied in the approach to each. Millions of workers are still in the fold of the social democracy and their leaders have not yet been 'unmasked' to them. The 'united front from below' cannot be regarded as the exclusive legitimate form of the united front. It cannot be any less permissible now than in the days of Lenin to engage in united fronts from 'above' as well as below. ... It is the *("Left)* Opposition(") that has been fighting all these years for the independent role of the Communist Party in England, in China, and elsewhere. The idea of Workers and Peasants Parties, and Blocs as a substitute for the party should be expunged from the program and strategy of the Comintern.

●THE LABOR PARTY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR A SOCIALIST CANADA

Part 1 of a series of 4 talks by Ross Dowson (1972)

"The struggle to build a party of the class"

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(Kim Boyd introduction) Tonight Ross Dowson, Executive Secretary of the League for Socialist Action, will be dealing in the first class *(on)* the first struggle for a labor party in this country.

(Ross Dowson:)(Applause) Well, comrades, you don't have to worry about a lot of tomes and books to read from – someone was asking me what literature there is on the topic, and really there is no literature on the topic – it's graspable, the material has never been pulled together in a serious way.

When I started to work over the topic, *(I found)* the topic even more interesting than it appears on the brochure, and certainly more important than I first thought when I first projected this forum. Really, what I'm dealing with is the inter-relationship between **the** labor party, or **a** labor party, whatever that means – and I will define that shortly – and the struggle for a socialist Canada. It's not easy to translate the term "labor party." As a matter of fact, in a discussion that Comrade Trotsky had with some of his American co-thinkers, he gets in a little hassle about the use of the word which he employed, "rabotchaya partiya" – I don't know if my Russian is very good – at any rate, he was talking here about a couple of things. When we talk about a labor party, the usual thing that comes into a person's mind is a party similar to the British Labour Party – that is, a reformist party. There is no question that the BLP is a reformist party, not a revolutionary party, but a party which encompasses the class, and quite accurately – but by no means precisely – reflects the level of the consciousness and

combativity of the class as a whole, if one can define a thing like that. One can, one can freeze the picture and say – well, one can say that, in general, the Labour Party in general reflects the level of consciousness and combativity of the British working people.

So, I want to talk about the struggle to build **a party of the class** – that encompasses the class. No *(labor—ed.)* party has ever encompassed fully the revolutionary aspirations and embodied the aspirations of the class. In part, of course, some persons would see the question as dealing with the relationship of the trade union movement to political action, another aspect of the question. Because usually when we use the word labor, it's traditionally used to mean the trade union movement, and part of it is based on the union movement. By that criteria, the CCF already qualified by 1948 as a labor party in our opinion. And the New Democratic Party, by that criteria, qualified for that at its foundation, and qualified on a bigger scale to something more significant in our opinion when the labor party was formed. We thought, at that time, that that party reflected the revolutionary dynamic of the class, and was more significant than a labor party in the classical meaning of the word.

I don't know whether those comments serve as an introduction or not, but any rate, as the class unfolds, you'll find out what I mean. Well first, a few days ago, there was an item in the paper. Mr. Dennison, the Mayor of Toronto, was interviewed by the press. I don't have the interview at hand, but I don't think anybody will challenge what I remember he said. You know, Mr. Dennison is one of the pioneer CCFers, a long-time CCFer to way back into the 30s. He's also a person who can show many persons who talk about community organization lots of tricks. He's probably the most effective and most dynamic community organizer the City of Toronto ever saw. He is now Mayor of Toronto. Most people are aware that Mr. Dennison isn't what he used to be. Or *(what)* they think he used to be. Well, he said a few words a while ago about his aims and aspirations and the meaning of his life. At any rate, this is what he said, "I've achieved all the things that I set out to do – those things have been achieved." I think there's an essential truth to that – what Mr. Dennison sought to achieve, has been generally achieved.

You know, revolutionaries would make a big error if they looked upon the picture today in Canada and thought that the workers are suffering utter degradation, you know, and impoverishment on a mass scale. That's not to say there are not thousands of people, tens and maybe even now hundreds of thousands with developing unemployment, on the verge of the poverty level, as you can say. But the people of this country are

generally, for a very extensive length of reasons – none of them can be attributed to the graces of capitalism – for various reasons, they live in a country where they have established a considerable number of reforms – quite extensive. For instance I find that I have hospital care of a fairly extensive character, which was a dream of socialists for many years, you know. Most persons live a tolerable life; they eat regularly, they have acquired a great many things like color TVs even today; so life is not so bad if you talk about establishing a tolerable society. Some call it the "welfare state." Well, that's in essence what we have established in this country – what you might call the welfare state.

And that's what Mr. Dennison was always about, and he can say with considerable truth that he's achieved the aims of his life, because that's all he was ever about. He talked occasionally about socialism, but it wasn't anything with any meaning or any significance, because it was something projected a way, way, far away. I guess he would be quite sure it wouldn't be his generation now, but it is doubtful he **ever** visualized it would be in his generation or his children's children's time, but some ultimate objective much to be desired – but very, very distant.

Well of course, for us – (…) if not for Mr. Dennison, pioneer CCFer who has achieved his aims – for us, we haven't achieved **any** of our aims. What have we achieved? I'll venture to say a few words about what we have achieved – we as socialists. We're out for a fundamental change in social relations. We're against the total system, and we are for the establishment of a totally new and different system — what we call a socialist society. We want to nationalize the basic means of production – the "commanding heights of the economy, as they say. We want them to be owned, operated and controlled by those who now work at them. We want production for use, not profit. I think you can say that today, from a material point of view, that we're no closer than we were, in 1848, when Marx first issued the clarion call, in the *Communist Manifesto,* for the world socialist revolution. We're no closer in a material way – to socialism. We're closer in one way – as Marx enunciated himself in the *Communist Manifesto* – a very important way. Marx was talking in this section of the Manifesto about the working class, to whom he attributed a unique role as the revolutionary role in society. Marx didn't mean just the industrial proletariat – as some people have bowdlerized that – but he talked about those who worked for their labor.

And of course, those in heavy industry are more strategically placed, but now with the development of what you might call a broader working class under capitalism, there are wider layers of the new working class who

are also in an extremely key and strategic place, and capitalism as a whole is a system more vulnerable to wider sections of the class than it ever has been in its history.

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●Marx on the class consciousness of the proletariat

At any rate, Marx was talking about this working class, and he was talking about the struggles of the working class – how they are forced to unite, how they're forced to, by society, by *(their)* relationship to the means of production, to radicalize. He didn't give them any moral superiority; he talked about their relationship to the means of production. He didn't idealize them. Then, he said: what is the important thing? He said, now and then, the workers are victorious, in whatever they were struggling for – higher wages, lower hours, better living conditions – but he said, only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies not in the immediate result of their struggles but in the ever-expanding union of themselves as a class – the ever-expanding union of the workers. He talked about how the important thing in the struggles, the struggles we have now been involved in for some period, is that they organize the proletariat **as a class** – and we can say big strides have been made in that direction – in Canada, and across the world.

And consequently, as a political party. He talks about how the workers have been thrust into the political arena. But we need to make a socialist revolution, and so I will just say a few words about what kind of instrument we need to make a revolution in this country. That's in a sense what the title of the class is – the labor party and the struggle for a socialist Canada. Now you'll note from glancing at the schedule that this class starts, however, with formation of the Communist Party in 1921 – not from the labor party formations in Canada, but from the Communist Party in 1921. We decided to start off there because this was the first successful attempt to form a type of party needed to make a revolution in an advanced capitalist country such as Canada. Fifty-one years ago, there was a gathering of activists – leading activists – from various political formations that had come up in the process of struggle in Canada – it was in Guelph – to organize this Party. They had as yet relatively limited influence in the labor movement, in the trade union movement. Some of them were prominent in the union movement like Jack Macdonald, Tim Buck and others, but they were not a group of great influence and leverage in the labor movement. They had become prominent in the Socialist Labour Party, in the Socialist Party of Canada, the Social-Democratic Party of Canada, the I.W.W. (*International Workers of the World, the "Wobblies," –ed.)*, the

O.B.U. *(the One Big Union—ed.)* – they'd gone through all the struggles of their period.

But the main source of their inspiration was outside of Canada, outside of their immediate experience. Their immediate experience allowed them to relate to a much more significant experience. The main source of their inspiration was Russia, from the experience gained from the first successful socialist revolution – the experience of the Russian Social-Democratic labor party, the Bolshevik sector of this party. That's what was their inspiration – because of course it was quite understandable, after all they were for socialism, and they had been fighting for socialism in various ways in their own country, in Canada, and someone had made it – in Russia! The first time in the history of the world that the working class even took power, and that *(fact)* couldn't help but be fraught with tremendous lessons – how was it made, an important question – any serious person would want to learn. How was it made? Well, they learned from Lenin how it was made, from Trotsky, from the Bolsheviks, from the Communist International, in its early days. They told people "how we made the Revolution" and they also tried to draw generalities, for other people who wanted to make the revolution – because they were internationalists – and they not only wanted other people to succeed in the common struggle, but they knew that their Revolution could not go forward unless the Revolution expanded its frontiers.

It was the beginning of a world revolution, in Lenin's and Trotsky's view, and in the views of the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International. And they said, our Party, in general, the party such as we have built, the so-called "Bolshevik party"— the majority wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party – that party is the type of party which is required in general to make a revolution in any advanced capitalist country – they didn't talk about the colonial countries, that was a whole new experience that came from a new period. But they talked about countries more or less like their own, and those countries where there were important socialist forces. They said, you have to build a vanguard-type of party – no other party can make this revolution. A party that seeks to root itself in the masses of the working class, that's capable of intervening in the varied struggles of the class, in women's liberation, in the antiwar struggle, in all these areas, a party that knows how to move into these *(areas)* – a party that knows how to take these struggles forward, to synchronize and organize and coordinate them. A party of workers who can, and who aspire to be leaders in their own right through the disciplined, centralized and coordinated action of their party, *(who)* will be leaders of the class.

The party has to have a program – that's the first requisite. It has to have a program — the program of socialist revolution; it has to have a common strategy. The Party has to be democratic, so it can utilize the collective knowledge of its members, through discussions and through experience. *(It)* has to test its ideas in real life, but it also has to be disciplined, with a strong leadership and a centralized direction. Otherwise, you can't grapple with the bourgeoisie, you can't come to grips with them because they're organized, and they're disciplined and they're coordinated, and they have power – tremendous power. You have to have a party that can meet that power.

●A vanguard party gets underway in Canada

That party got underway in Canada in 1921 – in the years around that time, formally organized in 1921. *(It was)* the first version, the Canadian version, of the type of party that the most far-seeing revolutionaries of that generation were able to organize. We've talked about this in other articles that we've written, some articles that appeared in *Labor Challenge*. We've related the promising start when and how this movement got under way, under the leadership of Jack Macdonald and Maurice Spector – and how it was ruptured. This promising start was ruptured by their expulsion in 1929.

It was of course not a personal conflict between Macdonald and Spector and the other persons in the party, namely Tim Buck. It was around political ideas – it was the famous Trotsky-Stalin feud, that's *(how)* it was talked about, how it was characterized. This party, when it expelled Macdonald and Spector, knocked itself off the track of the Canadian socialist revolution. It became Stalinized – it fell under the sway of a bureaucracy that rose in the Soviet Union that was out to defend its own privileged position, to preserve its own interests on top of the newly born workers state, and it developed a theory which it foisted on the Communist Parties of the world through the Communist International. That theory is called the "Theory of Socialism in One Country," or sometimes called today, in political life, the "Theory of Peaceful Co-existence" – just another form of it.

In that short period, from 1921 to about 1929, that party was transformed from an instrument of socialist revolution in Canada, in this country, into a border-guard of the USSR, of the Soviet bureaucracy, and *(into)* a pawn in the diplomatic maneuvers of the Stalin regime and subsequent regimes that had fallen heir to Stalin, in their diplomatic

maneuvers with world capitalism. It ceased to be a party of socialist revolution in its own country.

At that very same period, there also arose a labor party formation. And it's worth relating the experience of the revolutionaries with that labor party formation and I think it will give us some insight into the problems of a labor party, and what it poses for persons who understand *(that)* there needs to be a revolutionary party. There were two experiences as a matter of fact with the labor party, and that is in a sense why we're starting with the Communist Party experience – it was some while back, but there were two experiences with the labor party.

Now of course it wasn't long, as Marx has explained in the *Communist Manifesto* before workers when they launched themselves in the battle for better wages and hours and working conditions, before they came up against the state. It wasn't long before they came up against *(this obstacle.)* And they recognized that political parties that *(occupied)* some sectors of the state, particularly parliament, which passed laws which were subsequently enforced by other sectors of the state – they soon learned that this apparatus was in the hands of their opposition – in the hands of the capitalists. Not necessarily in the hands of this or that capitalist, but in the hands of the capitalists as a whole. They came to get that very elementary understanding, that there's a state apparatus that exists, and it's loaded against us. And it's used by the capitalist class against us as we struggle on the union plane, in our union and on the shop floor. The state intervenes – it intervenes in various ways as you know. It intervenes by declaring strikes illegal – in some cases, compelling workers to go through endless processes of negotiation which undermine and sap the fires of the militants. It outlaws strikes that have even been legally accepted by the government, that have conformed to all the rules of the game. It declares that there is some emergency, there is some rough-house on the picket line, and they declare injunctions and say nobody can go on the picket line, or you can only have one or two people and the scabs can go through.

That's the state, and then if anyone violates it, the state can hit them on the head with the policeman's baton. Then they are thrust into the courts, so *(the state)* can decapitate the strike, the struggle. I don't need to go *(further)* into this type of exposition. I think it is all obvious how the apparatus at the hands of the capitalist class is used against the workers. And the workers begin to learn that the Liberal and Tory parties in Canada, for instance, and the Social Credit – well, the main parties in Canada – I was going to say the P.Q. *(Parti Québécois*) in Quebec – but it hasn't had a go yet – these parties are parties of the bosses. The bosses have control of the

factories, and all that *(state)* apparatus at its disposal – its hirelings and its stooges, etc. – but *(they have)* these political parties. They're propaganda agents for the boss, and they rule the parliament and they pass the laws and regulate the courts, etc. in the interests of the boss. So the workers soon learn that they have to strengthen themselves, they have to have something more than a union. In a sense they are fighting as pictures often portray in cartoons in the union press, with one hand behind their back. They're only fighting with one hand, and you need the other hand, that's the political arm of labor.

Now of course, it's *(been)* a very long time since workers have developed that consciousness. It doesn't require a great deal of knowledge and experience for that. And of course, workers *(have)* moved into politics; workers' leaders have moved into politics. At first, they thought it was a pressure operation – all you had to do was get some friends in the Liberal Party, or the Tory Party – don't be surprised, even the Tory Party; people had that view – that all you had to do was get friends in any of the parties that had power. You see – you've got to go to the people that have power and you have to influence them; you've got to neutralize them, you have to butter up to them, you've got to do a few things to get them to be on your side.

And, of course you can't say that there has been no – absolutely no – success with such a strategy, but it is very obvious that it wasn't very successful, and certainly not consistent. That generally, with these parties, even if there are contradictions in their interests at certain times, *(they)* were class conscious and functioned generally in the same way, because they were parties of the bosses, *(with)* personnel and funds (…) And so this concept of "Gomperism" –known as Gomperism after the name of the head of the AF of L *(American Federation of Labor—craft unions—ed.)* – that came to become considered as bankrupt. As a matter of fact it's a dirty name among workers of any class consciousness – political consciousness – *(among)* workers who understand that labor has to have a party of its own. And so that was the next understanding of large sectors of the workers – you have to have a party of your own.

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●The labor party concept appears early in Canada

Now this concept of labor having a party of its own comes quite early in the history of the Canadian working people. Okay, of course there were lots of phonies. You may read a book by Doris French, I think it is, on the

labor movement in Canada, and she portrays Donaghue, a guy by the name of Donaghue as a pioneer of the CCF – *(in reality)* he's a fink and sell-out. He was one the partisans of class collaboration, of Liberal Party pressure. She's got him completely miscast. But this idea came all the earlier in Canada, because fortunately we are not often compelled to go through the experiences of other sectors of the working class. We try to learn a bit from other workers' experiences. Just as the most far-seeing elements *(tried)* to learn about the Russian workers' experience, a lot of workers learned about the British Labour Party experience, and as you know, the early settlers of Canada in their vast (majority), aside from the Québécois who are very seldom considered, were Anglo-Canadians, and they came over with certain experiences. Those who were not Anglo-Canadians came with other experiences too, some of them even more radical, from their own countries. But the proportion of those who had the most to say and soon got the positions of greater authority, who had a little more savvy at the time, they came over with the Anglo-Saxon experience, the British experience.

As you know, the British Labour Party was organized in 1900. In 1906 it made some big headway which had some impact, particularly on workers in Canada. The British connection in the trade union movement was quite strong. And it was in 1906, the year of the big breakthrough for the British Labour Party, that there was a resolution that came on the floor of the Victoria Trades and Labour Congress meeting in Victoria *(B.C.)* The Victoria TLC submitted a resolution to this congress in 1906. This motion was that there should be a labor party in Canada – it should be organized. The motion was moved by no less than the TLC secretary, P.M. Draper, who was a long-standing labor leader – I was going to say labor faker, but it was true, he was both – but he was the head, the Secretary, of the TLC which was the central trade union body in Canada. It was the only one of significance. He moved this motion, that there be a labor party.

Interestingly enough, it was opposed vigorously by the left wing, very vigorously. So I want to deal with this, because it posed an important problem – what should be the attitude of revolutionary socialists? Because there were revolutionary socialists then too in Canada. They didn't have the experience of the October Revolution, but they'd had some very valuable experiences. They were acquainted with some of the basic writings of Marxism, scientific socialism. There was a fellow by the name of R.P. Pettipiece, who moved the endorsement of the Socialist Party of Canada's principles and program – that's how he met it. Someone made a motion about a labor party presumably based on the unions, and this fellow Pettipiece, who was a member of the Socialist Party of Canada – a movement of some significance in British Columbia at that time, in 1906 –

he proposed that the Congress on the contrary should endorse as the labor party, his party – which was a declared socialist party, the Socialist Party of Canada – that it should adopt the principles and program of his party.

Jimmy Simpson, who subsequently became the Mayor of Toronto – if you read much about (…) Canadian labor history you'll come across his name often – and a delegate from the miners' union, a fellow by the name of Sherman, proposed a compromise resolution. Their line was – they were in favor of local autonomy; they were for a labor party, but they were for local autonomy – that the main body, the Trades and Labour Congress, shouldn't become the sponsor of what they would call – is the labor party – but there should be autonomous established labor parties. So you see, they were trying to bridge that problem since in some sectors of the country there *(were)* now established parties of the working class – and I must say that in most cases these were socialist parties – they were not reformist parties, they were socialist parties.

These socialists who opposed vigorously the motion for a labor party, considered that that motion was a motion to set up a reform party – a party of Liberal-labor reform. That's how they saw it – and they opposed it! Draper's motion passed, 62 to 7, and 14 people abstained. Mr. Donaghue, he was ecstatic with the result . He saw it as a defeat for the socialists, and said so quite consciously, that the building of a labor party in Canada in 1906 was designed to defeat the socialists – that's what its purpose was. As a matter of fact, with Mr. Draper supporting it, it seems highly likely that that was what it was for. And he saw – he said it very clearly – Donaghue – who was member of the House, I think, at that time, even – he said that it was not only a defeat for the socialists but it was a victory for labor reformism. That's how he saw it; that's how Draper *(saw it)*, and that's how the labor party was projected as, by its proponents at that time – a party of labor reform

- **Trotsky comments on the labor party in the United States**

Trotsky comments about this. When someone was talking about a labor party in the United States, he said of course it's not excluded that the labor brass will call for a labor party, and they will have their own purpose. He said it's doubtful though, and I'll read his quote here: "One can imagine that the trade union bureaucracy and its socialist left-democratic advisers may show themselves to be more perspicacious and begin the formation of a labor party before the revolutionary movement becomes too threatening. In view of their grasping empiricism and provincial narrowness of the

American labor bureaucracy and aristocracy of labor, such perspicaciousness seems very improbable.. The failure of such an attempt in the past shows that the bureaucracy, so tenacious in its immediate aims, is absolutely incapable of systematic political action on a great scale even in the interests of capitalist society." Well, it looks like there might have been an exception to Trotsky's evaluation of the American labor bureaucracy. It would appear that the Canadian labor bureaucracy in 1906 had such perspicacity – that they were thinking in terms of stalling and forestalling the radicalization that was taking place in Canada at that time, which was quite extensive – but which isn't the theme of my talk – by projecting the concept of a labor party, which would be a victory against socialism and for labor reformism.

Well, it seems I am talking longer than I planned, so I don't think I will go into further quotes on this. At any rate, that type of labor party, it seems obvious to me that socialists would have to oppose, and our forefathers, Comrade Pettipiece and others were quite correct in opposing that kind of party. And to sort of vindicate their concept – their position – that party never bore fruit, never went anywhere – it disappeared. Past 1906 and nothing, by 1909, no vestiges even of that projection by the labor brass. That was a labor party projected by the labor brass, and I think we can say, although it is difficult to do all the research and get a feeling of the times, the nuances of it, we can say that if was possibly – probably – an example of a projection of a labor party to forestall the development of a socialist force.

Now, after that experiment, the failure of that experiment, there was a revival of labor party interest, during and towards the close of World War One. The Trades and Labour Congress endorsed and initiated the Canadian Labour Party just three months before the 1917 federal election. It was a period of great confusion and you'll get some of the confusion in this book, which is worth reading if you take the care, called *Radical politics and Canadian labor*, by a fellow called Robin. It's a study of Canadian labor party politics, very difficult to get ahold of, because it has no theme, no theory. At any rate, you'll see there is a great period of confusion following the 1917 projection of a labor party by the Trades and Labour Congress.

But by 1921, a certain order started to develop, and at the very moment the socialists – the revolutionary socialists – were organizing the Communist Party, the precursor of the League for Socialist Action. At that very moment, a labor party was starting to gel in Canada. So it's rather interesting to us to see how our forefathers dealt with that, particularly *(those)* immediately we know, Maurice Spector and Jack Macdonald, who

continued to organize the *(precursor to the—ed.)* League for Socialist Action in the most concrete way. Well, this is rather an interesting development – the revolutionary socialists in that period **supported** the labor party. *(They)* took a totally different attitude than they did in 1906 – some of them the same personnel, but not the key ones. And so there's some interesting material on this – what it was.

In reality it was a federated party – in some ways you might say it was a united front. It wasn't a party. You see, the CCF was a party. It was formed, it was structured, it had an ideology, it had leading personnel who had established their authority in the party, the authority of their ideology. It was a structured movement and it was a party. It could never be a party of revolutionary socialists because it was a different type of party – it was a party of social reform, not a revolutionary party. The CCF, from its beginning, was established as a party of liberal-labor reform, basically an agrarian party, not even proletarian-based – but it was a party, established as a party of reform. But this labor party formation that came out of the period 1917 and 1921. *(It)* was a party that was called the Canadian Labour Party, but in reality it was a united front. All the various formations at that time, including the Communist Party, were part of it – they never gave up their identity. As a matter of fact, Maurice Spector makes a very interesting statement about the character of the party, explaining the position of the Communist Party on the Canadian Labour Party, and I think it is worth reading.

It presents a problem, you see – here you are, you're organizing a revolutionary vanguard party, in 1921, and you're fighting hard to build this party. You're trying to convince all the socialists that this is the way, and that only with this party, organized, and built and structured, will we establish a socialist revolution in this country. And then along comes a labor party – what is it, and what's your attitude towards it? It's a very key question, because you're now dealing with other forces involved in the struggle – just as *(we)* have to orient to forces unfolding today in Canada.

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●**Maurice Spector on the Canadian Labour Party**

Well, here's what Maurice Spector had to say about it. He was the theoretical leader of the Communist Party of Canada and subsequently the founder of the Trotskyist movement. He was the first person to be expelled, just prior to *(Jack)* Macdonald, as the Communist Party degenerated a few years later. At any rate, he wrote this as an editorial in *The Worker*, as the leading theoretician. He outlined the conditions and explained the attitude

of the Communist Party to it. I won't take time to read it (all). He said "The Canadian Labour Party is not yet a national party." It's not a national party. He said "The Independent Labour Party" – this was another formation, a reformist formation – *(and the others)* "were provincial parties: The Socialist Party of Canada, the Dominion Labour Party, and the Federated Labour Party are fast becoming negligible quantities." There were also other formations which were taking place at that time. "There exists a balance of political forces, an entirely different situation from where a small Communist Party found a large social-democratic party." This wasn't a large social-democratic party. "The political situation was in flux, and the Workers Party, a relative newcomer, was as well organized as the Independent Labour Party" – another component of this. "It is therefore essential" – this is an exact quote – "to maintain the closest possible contact with the awakening masses, as well as those workers following the Independent Labour Party – one of the major components in the Ontario area of the new labor party, to bring to bear on the growing political movement the militant spirit and understanding of the problems of labor, and unequivocally to fulfill the conditions for a united front under such conditions as prevail in Ontario."

So they **moved in** boldly. They had this party which was the party to which they were firmly committed, which they considered was the key struggle to achieve – the final formation of the Communist Party. But they moved into the Canadian Labour Party. But they moved in, in a certain way – they moved in completely, as they were. Somewhere it's described here – I don't know whether I can find it.

Each party, as the delegates of the Party *(the CLP)* agreed, in the formation of the party in B.C., that there be no sinking of the identity of any working class party at present in existence. Each party would carry on its own propaganda and during the election, all candidates endorsed by the Canadian Labour Party would run under the name of the Canadian Labour Party. So, everybody went into this party, particularly the revolutionary socialists. As a matter of fact, Jack Macdonald became very early an official of the Canadian Labour Party, although he was also – I think he was – the Executive Secretary, or a similar *(title)*, of the Communist Party when it was founded. He was the founding Executive Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, so while he had that post (…) he also was Vice-President of the Labour Party, the Ontario section of the Labour Party, which was the biggest section. Subsequently A.E. Smith, who became one of the leaders of the Communist Party -- a little later, as a matter of fact just at the time that he became president – he became president – of the Canadian Labour Party.— he was a known communist (…)

Okay; now of course, that's a remarkable situation – any of us here moving in the political arena can't help but be struck by that. Persons who declare themselves to be revolutionary socialists are accepted in a united front, with various other forces, including leading spokespersons of the trade union movement – I should say spokesmen because there were very few women involved at that time – and they carried their full program and their positions of office were established and recognized, and they were democratically elected – Jack Macdonald, "Moscow Jack" he was known as *(laughs in audience)* – he was vice-president of the Canadian Labour Party in Ontario. Now, that situation unfortunately didn't last for long, but I'd like to say a few words about the situation, that made it possible.

•What was happening at that time was the continuation of the radicalization process that had swept across this country. That's what that formation of the Canadian Labour Party formation meant, as part of it. There was a growth of the union movement, there was a general radicalization taking place – out of that came the Communist Party. But it was ebbing, also – it was ebbing, and from what I can see, this process – the formation of the Canadian Labour Party – came, you might say, at the very period of transformation of the revolutionary wave – it started to ebb quite decisively. At any rate, this party was broken up, broken up by red-baiting – that's how it was broken up. Macdonald and Spector had just been expelled by the Communist Party and then we had this situation where there was a campaign of red-baiting and an attempt to isolate the Communist Party and to drive it out of the Canadian Labour Party formation.

It is very interesting to see how the attack on the left – against Macdonald – first took on the form to change the character of the party – the federated Labour Party. That had to stop – a very open type of relation*(ship)* where everybody put forward their views and then came to a common agreement about who will run in what seats, and the Communist Party members ran in some seats, and ILP members ran in some seats, but they were endorsed as Canadian Labour Party candidates. The Socialist Party of Canada also ran in some seats. At any rate, there was a move to block the party as a federated party – that was the first move. Then there were moves to exclude the Communist Party formally. When they couldn't change the structure of the party, there were moves to bar the Communist Party formally. Then there was a real orgy of red-baiting, and that party went down in this orgy. If you want to know the poison of red-baiting, this is a very good example of what it could do. It struck down this party. Now someone could speculate about the tenuous character of that party – we might do that in the discussion. But such a type of party has a very unstable

character – an inherently unstable character – a united front. A labor party that is a united front? It strikes me really as the height of political absurdity in the long run, because it's composed of parties which presumably have basic differences, or otherwise if they were principled, *(they would)* fuse. To foresee an extended, long-term united front, particularly on an electoral basis strikes me as naïve, and not related to the experiences of the class struggle. But in actual fact, it was broken up before that differentiation could take place by an orgy of red-baiting.

●An early victory for the Communist Party of Canada

The Communist Party came out of it very, very well. As a matter of fact, it was a pleasure to read about the struggle the Communist Party put on against this red-baiting, and how the labor brass moved in on us, and what devices they used. For instance, it came to a climax in British Columbia when the Canadian Labour Party came out for the enfranchisement of Orientals – the Japanese and Chinese living on the West Coast should have a vote – this became the big issue *(in)* breaking it *(the debate open—ed.)* You see the labor fakers and the right-wing were opposed to that; they were opposed to it. As a matter of fact, there had been the nomination of six candidates in Vancouver seats in the provincial election, and one of them, Angus McInnis, who we will come across later, and four others, withdrew their candidatures, when the Labour Party, for having endorsed the right of Orientals to the vote, came under the gun of the labor trade union movement – which was racist, permeated with racism.

Malcolm Bruce was one of the few candidates who remained. There were two candidates that carried the banner of the Canadian Labour Party as the party went under, and one of them was Malcolm Bruce, who you perhaps know, joined the League for Socialist Action shortly before his death. He was one of the founders of the Communist Party of Canada, and he evolved in his experience.

Okay, now in some other ancillary writings, I commented about how, with the expulsion of (…) Spector and Macdonald – not myself, as a matter of fact – the author of *Socialism and Revolution* even said this: he said, with the expulsion of Spector and Macdonald, that was the end of an era for the Communist Party of Canada. Another authoritative writer on the evolution of communist movement in America, Theodore Draper, drew a similar conclusion. After the first ten years of the Communist Party, he said "By the *(end of)* the first ten years, the basic dynamism of that movement had been sapped, it had been destroyed." Well, with the expulsion of Macdonald,

there is no doubt that for this party, it signified the *(programmatic)* disintegration and bankruptcy of the Communist Party of Canada.— it signified its Stalinization.

But that didn't mean that the party collapsed and disintegrated, or flew apart. Ideologically, it was bankrupt. But unfortunately, we know lots of situations where various parties or individuals are ideologically bankrupt but they retain a certain "life" – like a death agony, you know, which can extend itself for some period – and sometimes as death approaches, it *(can)* become even more active. But at any rate, this party didn't collapse, but it was politically bankrupt. What it had left, while it had no principled politics in its arsenal, it had gathered a certain cadre, a certain core of young people who considered themselves revolutionaries – who were revolutionaries, who wanted to be revolutionaries, who wanted to build a revolutionary vanguard party in this country. It had that certain cadre. And there came a new radicalization – a new wave of radicalization, a radicalization that had a staggering impact on all formations across Canada.

This radicalization came with what you might call, the first substantial experience of Canadian working people with capitalism. You know, even ourselves in this room, haven't had what you might say a common experience as human beings with capitalism. We've come from different experiences – different areas of struggle. Some of us come from the same experiences, but we haven't had a common, overall experience. The youth of 1929 and into the thirties had a titanic, a colossal, a staggering experience in common, as a class. I would say this was the basis of the first real process of radicalization of the Canadian working class – the working people as a whole. They had a taste of capitalism. They'd heard about it, parts of it. People had made predictions, and an analysis of the inherent laws of capitalism, but suddenly it hit everybody on an international scale.

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●The Depression: the first common experience of the Canadian working class

The world went under a process of a devastating depression, the like of which you can hardly conceive of, its repercussions it had on the Canadian people. As matter of fact, a new interest arose in the Soviet Union, because it was the only sector of the world where there wasn't a devastating economic crisis. I don't say it wasn't affected by it, but the rest of the world went down to a grinding halt. And the masses were thrown out of the factories and into the streets, out of their homes, deprived, and lost everything they had accumulated – a great many of them. So socialism

became quite attractive again, to a new layer of radicals. It was a real substantial *(grounding).* I think that is an important point – that this was the first experience that the **class** had with capitalism, a common experience, not a theoretical one, that *(not only—ed.)* a few people assimilated, understood from their vision, their insight, their social awareness – but the class as a whole *(as well)* from its own being, its very being.

The first reaction of the working class of this country to *(the)* Depression was one of paralysis, *(of)* staggering paralysis and loss of confidence in themselves. Workers lost everything. There was no welfare, you know. There was no welfare, there was no relief for a whole period. I don't know if you know what the word "relief" means – it was a form of welfare that you had to qualify for in a much more rigorous way than welfare. That had to be fought for. There was a means test imposed on everybody. It meant that you had to be destitute! Someone came around *(to inspect you).* If you had a – I was going to say TV, but people didn't even have radios then; a few people had radios – at any rate, you couldn't have anything. I can speak much from my own experience, from workers I knew. I knew a worker, a Dutch worker who was a skilled worker, a carpenter – he had tools of course, of his trade. He couldn't have them, he had to sell them. They were a form of material wealth, and he had to sell them for what he could get for them.

When the means test operator came around, they looked over your house, and you didn't have anything – you couldn't have anything, or you didn't go on relief. And of course the relief was a very vicious thing – it was by voucher. You had to go to certain stores, you had to buy certain things. You see all workers are considered to be somewhat insane, and they would buy anchovies and caviar – at any rate, they had to buy beans. You had to buy so much, it was all marked out. Your relief was given to you and you were given instructions as to what you could buy. You could buy at certain stores and the storekeeper could only sell you certain things. Very quickly you could tell who was on relief because the kids would wear the uniform of "reliefees" – they wore the clothes that were the established clothes that people wore who were on relief -- the badge of shame.

There were no jobs, the youth had no perspective *(of any)*; there were no school grants. You know, you couldn't continue to go to school if you couldn't get a job – you just went out onto the street, that's what you did. And of course you usually left home, because there was no welfare, no relief for single unemployed – there was no such thing. Of course, if you were a bit insensitive, I suppose you'd live on your parents' relief. Your parents got relief for children under certain ages – I don't have the data, I

don't want to go into all the details of it. But at any rate if you were of working age, you just lived on them – you lived on the impoverishment of your parents and your younger sisters and brothers. So you left home, or you married; and there *(were)* all kinds of marriages of convenience to be sure. All kinds of young women and young men who couldn't get relief, married and became a "family." The sacred institution of the family was justified in getting relief, you see, so lots of people married – but some people didn't, and there are a lot of incidents I could tell you about. One of the most common things was that you left home and you rode back and forth across the country. A little while ago there was a big ad in the *Toronto Star* and they had a powerful, a poignant picture of the thirties – maybe you recall it, they ran it for a little while – it was a picture of the boxcars coming into Toronto from somewhere – anywhere – across Canada. They were loaded with young people – they came back and forth, on the move. My generation went back and forth across Canada, looking for – you don't know what. Well, you looked for a job, but there were no jobs. You might finally give up, completely demoralized, and you might to go to one of the slave labor camps and you would get 20 cents a day, and you did a little reforestation or something like that for the big paper companies – 20 cents a day. You've heard about the "On to Ottawa Trek." The B.C. government wanted to get rid of the unemployed, so they encouraged them, and of course the militants picked it up – why don't you have a trek "on to Ottawa"? The provincial government was being bankrupted you see, and the municipalities were being bankrupted, so the B.C. government said "On to Ottawa" and many persons had nowhere else to go, so they went on to Ottawa! Some of them were shot down like dogs in the street, in Regina.

And the bosses put the squeeze on those who were employed. You don't know what it is to be squeezed. If you worked in factories today, they're a honeymoon hotel compared to factories in the thirties *(laughs in audience)*. They really put the squeeze, the speedup, I tell you, there were a hundred guys outside the gate every morning, every morning, just waiting there, anxious and ready to do anything, almost anything to get a job. No matter what the work was and no matter what the conditions were – they had to get a job. So the bosses used all this, they really used unemployment – they like that unemployment; they put the squeeze on the workers.

The basic sectors of the working class were not organized. Only the crafts were organized – the carpenters, the joiners, the plasterers, the pattern-makers – these workers were organized, but the great bulk of the workers were completely unorganized, so they were all the more vulnerable to the bosses. Now there started to be a resistance. After the first

demoralization and staggering impact it *(the Depression)* had on the working class, the workers started to revolt, as Marx predicted. They started to fight. There was the famous Estevan strike. The coal miners started to strike, in 1931 – the first rumblings of the new radicalization in the labor force. Three miners were killed in the process of that strike though, and 12 to 18 were wounded by the RCMP. I don't know what the RCMP means to you; there's a big debate now in Canada. But to anybody in the thirties, they know what the RCMP means and they want to get rid of it – even the word "police" sounds better than "RCMP." The "yellow legs," the RCMP. They were the murder squads of the unemployed workers and the strikers. In Stratford there was a strike in '33. They brought tanks in, the first time that I ever heard where the Canadian government sent tanks in to battle a strike. These Whippet tanks were subsequently used in World War 2. Then there were the famous textile strikes in '37, the beginnings of the radicalization of the Quebec workers, the Dominion Textile strikes. They spread right through Valleyfield and through Drummondville and all the Quebec small towns where particularly women were suffering particularly utter super-degradation.

●Finally, the North American workers fight back

And then there was the rise of the CIO. The first important strike, in '37, 4,000 workers struck for union recognition. They went on strike to establish a union – that's all they were out to do. This was a big strike. Perhaps you will recall that Mitchell Hepburn decided to send his police down there –"Hepburn's Huszars" they were. He was going to march them down – I think they were established in Toronto if I'm not mistaken – he was going to march them down and drive *(out)* the foreign invasion, you know, the American unions were foreign invaders; they were bringing the CIO up here, this communist plot that was going to corrupt the Canadian workers, you see, so the Hepburn government, the Liberal government, decided to drive the CIO out, its organizers and all, and it sent the police down there, but they never got down there, because there was a response among the rest of the Canadian working class, and that strike was won

But this radicalization – again, I'm not trying to give you a picture of the Thirties – this radicalization continued on and up and through the war – right through the war, to the end of the war, this radicalization. It resulted in the organization of the workers in the basic industries – this was in the process of the war. Some people think it came with 1937 – it did not. The unions were organized in Canada in '41, '43, '45, up into this period – the basic industrial unions. After the GM strike, Chrysler and – not being a car

fan, I can't think of the other car – Ford *(laughs)* Ford weren't organized until some period after – that was the GM strike, that moved into McKinnon – was it?— in St. Catharines – *(from the audience)* McKinnon Industries now, yes – at any rate, workers in the process of this radicalization underwent this basic organization.

This also hit the agrarian protest movement called the CCF, which was organized in 1932, and made it radical – it came out of this radicalization. It gave it a veneer of radicalism – it was essentially a reformist, an agrarian-based party, but it gave a veneer of radical-ness to it, brought with it a tremendous new political consciousness to the Canadian working class. So you see, the last comment in the first class was to deal with the popular front, and I want to move into that popular front, because it is an important experience in this radicalization. And the concept of popular-frontism is with us again, so it might be very useful to have this information, and we can discuss it later.

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●The disorienting zigzags of the Stalinized Communist Party of Canada

In the midst of this radicalization, the Communist Party followed in this period, two different courses. One, it started to develop an ultra-leftist concept. It characterized the CCF, which is really a populist movement, an agrarian reform movement, it characterized it as "social fascist." It said it was a "social fascist" movement – you've heard that term I guess if you've been around the Maoists, you'll hear this term "social fascist." I haven't heard it since the Thirties – it was a term developed by Stalinism to *(indict—ed.)* – I was going to say to strive – to smear social-democracy *(as)* the "main danger." You can't have united fronts with social-democracy because they're the main danger, they're paving the way for fascism, and you've got to hit them first. They're **social** fascists – the others are the real fascists, but these are social fascists. And Stewart Smith wrote a book called "Socialism and the CCF" *(a CPC pamphlet?—ed)* which carried that line – that the CCF (…) is the main enemy before the working class – more the enemy than the Liberals and Tories, at any rate I would assume.

They also *(the Stalinists—ed.),* after a short period, dumped that. *(But)* that led to the defeat of the German working class – the theory of social fascism – that led to the paralysis of the mightiest working class in the world and their destruction by Hitler, the tool of the German capitalist class. And that policy was dumped, and the Communist Party veered over to another position, a completely opposite position, the theory of the Popular Front (...) And we were told, with that theory, that it was necessary

to seek new alliances, to form alliances with liberal capitalist elements, in order to stop the main danger, which was Franco at one time, or Hitler, or some counterpart in France. We were supposed to form some kind of alliance, give up our own struggle and form any alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie because of course you couldn't maintain that alliance if you didn't pay some price for it, you see.

This concept of the popular front didn't have much significance in Canadian politics in general; it was about other countries. But we talked about it at the time, because we knew its implications – how it was going to be applied to Canada was not too clear, but it soon became clear. It found its fullest expression in Canada during World War 2, in the period of this tremendous radicalization that was taking place – prior to the war, and into the war, and towards the end of the war. It was directed against the labor party formation, directed against the CCF. The CCF had been endorsed by the Canadian Congress of Labour in 1943 as its political arm. It tells you that the party was changing and shifting its base and becoming a labor party. I think we can call it a labor party, although we formally came to that conclusion in 1948, when its real social base was reflected in the elections. It's one thing to have the support of delegates, representatives of unions and another thing to have rooted support. At any rate, by 1943 it had won the support of the main labor body in this country. This theory of the popular front was projected against the CCF, against the labor party. The CCF made big gains during the war. In 1941 it had 33.4% of the vote in British Columbia, *(and)* it won its first plurality in B.C. in 1941. In 1942 it won the riding of York South *(Toronto—ed).* This is the riding where a fellow by the name of Joe Noseworthy ran – it subsequently became a solid CCF and NDP riding, York Township. He ran against Arthur Meighen, the head of the Tory party, a real blow at the bourgeois party apparatus. It imposed in the minds of many workers that the CCF was an alternative to the boss parties. In 1942 and 1944 there was a great expansion of the CCF and it made big gains. And the union movement also underwent a big expansion – the union movement did (...*broken sound on tape)*

CONTINUES ON RDSpeechLP1b—"Well we are in the war, bloody imperialist war.... "

SELECTED READINGS IN MARXISM

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edited by

Maurice Spector

Prefatory Note

This first draft of selected readings in the fundamental doctrines of Marxism was tentatively designed to serve as a basis of group discussion in connection with a workers' class in that subject. The least of all its claims is to completeness or finality. Supplemental material of additional extracts, references and notes, to fill in the gaps, will, it is planned, be issued from time to time as the need makes itself felt. The editor wishes to express his indebtedness to those comrades, but for whose generous technical assistance these readings would not be available.

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TORONTO

1932

The Regina Manifesto

(Adopted at the First National Convention of the C.C.F. held at Regina, Saskatchewan in July 1933)

The CCF is a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Co - operative Commonwealth in which the principle regulating production, distribution and exchange will be the supplying of human needs and not the making of profits.

We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine democratic self-government, based upon economic equality, will be possible. The present order is marked by glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunity, by chaotic waste and instability; and in an age of plenty it condemns the great mass of the people to poverty and insecurity.

Power has become more and more concentrated into the hands of a small irresponsible minority of financiers and industrialists and to their predatory interests the majority are habitually sacrificed. When private profit is the main stimulus to economic effort, our society oscillates between periods of feverish prosperity in which the main benefits go to speculators and profiteers, and of catastrophic depression, in which the common man's normal state of insecurity and hardship is accentuated. We believe that these evils can be removed only in a planned and socialized economy in which our natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated by the people.

The new social order at which we aim is not one in which individuality will be crushed out by a system of regimentation. Nor shall we interfere with cultural rights of racial or religious minorities. What we seek is a proper collective organization of our economic resources such as will make possible a much greater degree of leisure and a much richer individual life for every citizen.

This social and economic transformation can be brought about by political action, through the election of a government inspired by the ideal of a Co-operative Commonwealth and supported by a majority of the people. We do not believe in change by violence. We consider that both the old parties in Canada are the instruments of capitalist interests and cannot serve as agents of social reconstruction, and that whatever the superficial differences between them, they are bound to carry on government in accordance with the dictates of the big business interests who finance them. The CCF aims at political power in order to put an end to this capitalist domination of our political life. It is a democratic movement, a federation of farmer, labour and socialist organizations financed by its own members and seeking to achieve its ends solely by constitutional methods. It appeals for support to all who believe that the time has come for a far-reaching reconstruction of our economic and political institutions and who are willing to work together for the carrying out of the following policies:

(1) **Planning**

The establishment of a planned, socialized economic order in order to make possible the most efficient development of the national resources and the most equitable distribution of the national income.

The first step in this direction will be the setting up of a National Planning Commission consisting of a small body of economists, engineers and statisticians assisted by an appropriate technical staff.

The task of the Commission will be to plan for the production, distribution and exchange of all goods and services necessary to the efficient functioning of the economy; to coordinate the activities of the socialized industries; to provide for a satisfactory balance between the producing and consuming

power; and to carry on continuous research into all branches of the national economy in order to acquire the detailed information necessary to efficient planning.

The Commission will be responsible to the Cabinet and will work in co-operation with the Managing Boards of the Socialized Industries.

It is now certain that in every industrial country some form of planning will replace the disintegrating capitalist system. The CCF will provide that in Canada the planning shall be done, not by a small group of capitalist magnates in their own interests, but by public servants acting in the public interest and responsible to the people as a whole.

(2) Socialization of Finance

Socialization of all financial machinery—banking, currency, credit, and insurance, to make possible the effective control of currency, credit and prices, and the supplying of new productive equipment for socially desirable purposes.

Planning by itself will be of little use if the public authority has not the power to carry its plans into effect. Such power will require the control of finance and of all those vital industries and services which, if they remain in private hands, can be used to thwart or corrupt the will of the public authority. Control of finance is the first step in the control of the whole economy. The chartered banks must be socialized and removed from the control of private profit-seeking interests; and the national banking system, thus established, must have at its head a Central Bank to control the flow of credit and the general price level, and to regulate foreign exchange operations. A National Investment Board must also be set up, working in co-operation with the socialized banking system to mobilize and direct the unused surpluses of production for socially desired purposes as determined by, the Planning Commission.

Insurance Companies, which provide one of the main channels for the investment of individual savings and which, under their present competitive organization, charge needlessly high premiums for the social services that they render, must also be socialized.

(3) **Social Ownership**

Socialization (Dominion, Provincial or Municipal) of transportation, communications, electric power and all other industries and services essential to social planning, and their operation under the general direction of the Planning Commission by competent managements freed from day to day political interference.

Public utilities must be operated for the public benefit and not for the private profit of a small group of owners or financial manipulators. Our natural resources must be developed by the same methods. Such a programme means the continuance and extension of the public ownership enterprises in which most governments in Canada have already gone some distance. Only by such public ownership, operated on a planned economy, can our main industries be saved from the wasteful competition of the ruinous over-development and over-capitalization which are the inevitable outcome of capitalism. Only in a regime of public ownership and operation will the full benefits accruing from centralized control and mass production be passed on to the consuming public.

Transportation, communications and electric power must come first in a list of industries to be socialized. Others, such as mining, pulp and paper and the distribution of milk, bread, coal and gasoline, in which exploitation, waste, or financial malpractice are particularly prominent must next be brought under social ownership and operation.

In restoring to the community its natural resources and in taking over industrial enterprises from private into public control we do not propose any policy of outright confiscation. What we desire is the most stable and equitable transition to the Co-operative Commonwealth. It is impossible to decide the policies to be followed in particular cases in an uncertain future, but we insist upon certain broad principles. The welfare of the community must take supremacy over the claims of private wealth. In times of war, human life has been conscripted. Should economic circumstances call for it, conscription of wealth would be more justifiable. We recognize the need for compensation in the case of individuals and institutions which must receive adequate maintenance during the transitional period before the planned economy becomes fully operative. But a CCF government will not play the role of rescuing bankrupt private concerns for the benefit of promoters and of stock and bond holders. It will not pile up a deadweight burden of unremunerative debt which represents claims upon the public treasury of a functionless owner class.

The management of publicly owned enterprises will be vested in boards who will be appointed for their competence in the industry and will conduct each particular enterprise on efficient economic lines. The machinery of management may well vary from industry to industry, but the rigidity of Civil Service rules should be avoided and likewise the evils of the patronage system as exemplified in so many departments of the Government today. Workers in these public industries must be free to organize in trade unions and must be given the right to participate in the management of the industry.

(4) **Agriculture**

Security of tenure for the farmer upon his farm on conditions to be laid down by individual Provinces; insurance against unavoidable crop failure; removal of the tariff burden from the operations of agriculture; encouragement of producers' and consumers' co-operatives; the restoration and maintenance of an equitable relationship between prices of agricultural products and those of other commodities and services; and improving the efficiency of export trade in farm products.

The security of tenure for the farmer upon his farm which is imperilled by the present disastrous situation of the whole industry, together with adequate social insurance, ought to be guaranteed under equitable conditions.

The prosperity of agriculture, the greatest Canadian industry, depends upon a rising volume of purchasing power of the masses in Canada for all farm goods consumed at home, and upon the maintenance of large scale exports of the stable commodities at satisfactory prices or equitable commodity exchange.

The intense depression in agriculture today is a consequence of the general world crisis caused by the normal workings of the capitalistic system resulting in: 1) Economic nationalism expressing itself in tariff barriers and other restrictions of world trade, 2) The decreased purchasing power of unemployed and under-employed workers and of the Canadian people in general, and 3) The exploitation of both primary producers and consumers by monopolistic corporations who absorb a great proportion of the selling price of farm products. (This last is true, for example, of the distribution of milk and dairy products, the packing industry, and milling.)

The immediate cause of agricultural depression is the catastrophic fall in the world prices of foodstuffs as compared with other prices, this fall being due in large measure to the deflation of currency and credit. To counteract the worst effect of this, the internal price level should be raised so that the farmers' purchasing power may be restored.

We propose therefore:

1. The improvement of the position of the farmer by the increase of purchasing power made possible by the social control of the financial system. This control must be directed towards the increase of employment as laid down elsewhere and towards raising the prices of farm commodities by appropriate credit and foreign exchange policie

2. Whilst the family farm is the accepted basis for agricultural production in Canada the position of the farmer may be much improved by:

a) The extension of consumers' co-operatives for the purchase of farm supplies and domestic requirements; and
b) The extension of co-operative institutions for the processing and marketing of farm products.

a) Both of the foregoing to have suitable encouragement and assistance.

3. The adoption of a planned system of agricultural development based upon scientific soil surveys directed towards better land utilization, and a scientific policy of agricultural development for the whole of Canada.

4. The substitution for the present system of foreign trade, of a system of import and export boards to improve the efficiency of overseas marketing, to control prices, and to integrate the foreign trade policy with the requirements of the national economic plan.

(5) External Trade

The regulation in accordance with the national plan of external trade through import and export boards.

Canada is dependent on external sources of supply for many of her essential requirements of raw materials and manufactured products. These she can obtain only by large exports of the goods she is best fitted to produce. The strangling of our export trade by insane protectionist policies must be brought to an end. But the old controversies between free traders and protectionists are now largely obsolete. In a world of nationally organized economies Canada must organize the buying and selling of her main imports and exports under public boards and take steps to regulate the flow of less important commodities by a system of licenses. By so doing she will be enabled to make the best trade agreements possible with foreign countries, put a stop to the exploitation of both primary producer and ultimate consumer, make possible the co-ordination of internal processing, transportation, and marketing of farm products, and facilitate the establishment of stable prices for such export commodities.

(6) **Co-Operative Institutions**

The encouragement by the public authority of both producers' and consumers' co- operative institutions.

In agriculture, as already mentioned, the primary producer can receive larger net revenue through co-operative organization of purchases and marketing. Similarly in retail distribution of staple commodities such as milk, there is room for development both of public municipal operation and of consumers' co-operatives, and such co-operative organization can be extended into wholesale distribution and into manufacturing. Co-operative enterprises should be assisted by the state through appropriate legislation and through the provision of adequate credit facilities.

(7) Labour Code

A national labour code to secure for the worker maximum income and leisure, insurance covering illness, accident, old age, and unemployment, freedom of association and effective participation

in the management of his industry or profession.

The spectre of poverty and insecurity which still haunts every worker, though technological developments have made possible a high standard of living for everyone, is a disgrace which must be removed from our civilization. The community must organize its resources to effect progressive reduction of the hours of work in accordance with technological development and to provide a constantly rising standard of life to everyone who is willing to work. A labour code must be developed which will include state regulation of all wages, equal reward and equal opportunity of advancement for equal services, irrespective of sex; measures to guarantee the right to work or the right to maintenance through stabilization of employment and through employment insurance; social insurance to protect workers and their families against the hazards of sickness, death, industrial accident and old age; limitation of hours of work and protection of health and safety in industry. Both wages and insurance benefits should be varied in accordance with family needs.

In addition workers must be guaranteed the undisputed right to freedom of association, and should be encouraged and assisted by the state to organize themselves in trade unions. By means of collective agreements and participation in works councils, the workers can achieve fair working rules and share in the control of industry and profession; and their organizations will be indispensable elements in a system of genuine industrial democracy.

The labour code should be uniform throughout the country. But the achievement of this end is difficult so long as jurisdiction over labour legislation under the BNA Act is mainly in the hands of the provinces. It is urgently necessary, therefore, that the BNA Act be amended to make such a national labour code possible.

(8) **Socialized Health Services**

Publicly organized health, hospital and medical services.

With the advance of medical science, the maintenance of a healthy population has become a function for which every civilized community should undertake responsibility. Health services should be made at least as freely available as are educational services today. But under a system which is still mainly one of private enterprise the costs of proper medical care, such as the wealthier members of society can easily afford, are at present prohibitive for great masses of the people. A properly organized system of public health services including medical and dental care, which would stress the prevention rather than the cure of illness should be extended to all our people in both rural and urban areas. This is an enterprise in which Dominion, Provincial and Municipal authorities, as well as the medical and dental professions, can co-operate.

(9) B.N.A. Act ***(British North America Act)***

The amendment of the Canadian constitution, without infringing upon racial or religious minority rights or upon legitimate Provincial claims to autonomy, so as to give the Dominion government adequate powers to deal effectively with urgent economic problems which are essentially national in scope; the abolition of the Canadian Senate.

We propose that the necessary amendments to the BNA Act shall be obtained as speedily as required, safeguards being inserted to ensure that the existing rights of racial and religious minorities shall not be changed without their own consent. What is chiefly needed today is the placing in the hands of the national government of more power to control national economic development. In a rapidly changing economic environment our political constitution must be reasonably flexible. The present division of powers between Dominion and Provinces reflects the conditions of a pioneer, mainly agricultural, community in 1867. Our constitution must be brought into line with the increasing industrialization of

the country and the consequent centralization of economic and financial power which has taken place in the last two generations. The principle laid down in the Quebec Resolution of the Fathers of Confederation should be applied to the conditions of 1933, that "there be a general government charged with matters of common interest to the whole country and local governments for each of the provinces charged with the control of local matters in their respective sections."

The Canadian Senate, which was originally created to protect provincial rights, but has failed even in this function, has developed into a bulwark of capitalist interests, as is illustrated by the large number of company directorships held by its aged members. In its peculiar composition of a fixed number of members appointed for life it is one of the most reactionary assemblies in the civilized world. It is a standing obstacle to all progressive legislation, and the only permanently satisfactory method of dealing with the constitutional difficulties it creates is to abolish it.

(10) **External Relations**

A Foreign Policy designed to obtain international economic co-operation and to promote disarmament and world peace.

Canada has a vital interest in world peace. We propose, therefore, to do everything in our power to advance the idea of international co-operation as represented by the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization. We would extend our diplomatic machinery for keeping in touch with the main centres of world interest. But we believe that genuine international co operation is incompatible with the capitalist regime which is in force in most countries, and that strenuous efforts are needed to rescue the League from its present conditions of being mainly a League of capitalist Great Powers. We stand resolutely against all participation in imperialist wars. Within the British Commonwealth, Canada must maintain her autonomy as a completely self-governing nation. We must resist all attempts to build up a new economic British Empire in place of the old political one, since such attempts readily lend themselves to the purposes of capitalist exploitation and may easily lead to further world wars. Canada must refuse to be entangled in any more wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism.

(11) **Taxation and Public Finance**

A new taxation policy designed not only to raise public revenues but also to lessen the glaring inequalities of income and to provide funds for social services and the socialization of industry: the cessation of the debt creating system of Public Finance.

In the type of economy that we envisage, the need for taxation, as we now understand it, will have largely disappeared. It will nevertheless be essential during the transition period, to use the taxing powers, along with the other methods proposed elsewhere, as a means of providing for the socialization of industry, and for extending the benefits of increased social services.

At the present time capitalist governments in Canada raise a large proportion of their revenues from such levies as customs duties and sales taxes, the main burden of which falls upon the masses. In place of such taxes upon articles of general consumption, we propose a drastic extension of income, corporation and inheritance taxes, steeply graduated according to ability to pay. Full publicity must be given to income tax payments and our tax collection system must be brought up to the English standard of efficiency.

We also believe in the necessity for an immediate revision of the basis of Dominion and Provincial sources of revenue, so as to produce a co-ordinated and equitable system of taxation throughout Canada.

An inevitable effect of the capitalist system is the debt creating character of public financing. All public debts have enormously increased, and the fixed interest charges paid thereon now amount to the largest single item of so-called uncontrollable public expenditures. The CCF proposes that in future no public financing shall be permitted which facilitates the perpetuation of the parasitic interest-receiving class; that capital shall be provided through the medium of the National Investment Board and free from perpetual interest charges.

We propose that all Public Works, as directed by the Planning Commission, shall be financed by the issuance of credit, as suggested, based upon the National Wealth of Canada.

(12) Freedom

Freedom of speech and assembly for all; repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code; amendment of the Immigration Act to prevent the present inhuman policy of deportation; equal treatment before the law of all residents of Canada irrespective of race, nationality or religious or political beliefs.

In recent years, Canada has seen an alarming growth of Fascist tendencies among all governmental authorities. The most elementary rights of freedom of speech and assembly have been arbitrarily denied to workers and to all whose political and social views do not meet with the approval of those in power. The lawless and brutal conduct of the police in certain centres in preventing public meetings and in dealing with political prisoners must cease. Section 98 of the Criminal Code which has been used as a weapon of political oppression by a panic-stricken capitalist government, must be wiped off the statute book and those who have been imprisoned under it must be released. An end must be put to the inhuman practice of deporting immigrants who were brought to this country by immigration propaganda and now, through no fault of their own, to find themselves victims of an executive department against whom there is no appeal to the courts of the land. We stand for full economic, political and religious liberty for all.

(13) Social Justice

The establishment of a commission composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, socially-minded jurists and social workers, to deal with all matters pertaining to crime and punishment and the general administration of law, in order to humanize the law and to bring it into harmony with the needs of the people.

While the removal of economic inequality will do much to overcome the most glaring injustices in the treatment of those who come into conflict with the law, our present archaic system must be changed and brought into accordance with a modern concept of human relationships. The new system must not be based, as is the present one, upon vengeance and fear, but upon an understanding of human behavior. For this reason its planning and control cannot be left in the hands of those steeped in an outworn legal tradition; and therefore it is proposed that there shall be established a national commission composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, socially-minded jurists and social workers whose duty it shall be to devise a system of prevention and correction consistent with other features of a new social order.

(14) An Emergency Programme

The assumption by the Dominion Government of direct responsibility for dealing with the present critical unemployment situation and for tendering suitable work or adequate maintenance; the adoption of measures to relieve the extremity of the crisis such as a programme of public spending on housing, and other enterprises that will increase the real wealth of

Canada, to be financed by the issue of credit based on the national wealth.

The extent of unemployment and the widespread suffering which it has caused, creates a situation with which provincial and municipal governments have long been unable to cope and forces upon the Dominion Government direct responsibility for dealing with the crisis as the only authority with financial resources adequate to meet the situation. Unemployed workers must be secured in the tenure of their homes, and the scale and methods of relief, at present altogether inadequate, must be such as to preserve decent human standards of living.

It is recognized that even after a Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Government has come into power, a certain period of time must elapse before the planned economy can be fully worked out. During this brief transitional period, we propose to provide work and purchasing power for those now unemployed by a far-reaching programme of public expenditure on housing slum clearance, hospitals, libraries, schools, community halls, parks, recreational projects, reforestation, rural electrification, the elimination of grade crossings, and other similar projects in both town and country. This programme, which would be financed by the issuance of credit based on the national wealth, would serve the double purpose of creating employment and meeting recognized social needs. Any steps which the Government takes, under this emergency programme, which may assist private business, must include guarantees of adequate wages and reasonable hours of work, and must be designed to further the advance towards the complete Co-operative Commonwealth.

Emergency measures, however, are of only temporary value, for the present depression is a sign of the mortal sickness of the whole capitalist system, and this sickness cannot be cured by the application of salves. These leave untouched the cancer which is eating at the heart of our society, namely, the economic system in which our national resources and our principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated for the private profit of a small proportion of our population.

No CCF Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full programme of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co operative Commonwealth.

A Congress of the Comintern Bureaucracy?

It is reported that after an interval of five years, the bureaucracy is preparing to convene a congress of the Comintern. Does this refute our contention that the Comintern is moribund? We believe not. The shell remains when the substance is gone. Liquidated as a political reality in Europe, the First International transferred its headquarters to America. After the triumph of Fascism, the social-democratic parties whose reformism had paved the way for that result, assembled in Paris. Was Lenin wrong to speak of the collapse of the Second International in 1914? There are still plenty of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, but they have little in common with the Puritan insurrectionists of 1640.

The Comintern did not meet for five years. It dared not! That period of its political absenteeism sealed the fate of the Comintern as an instrument of proletarian enancipation. Those were years of devastating international crisis, of revolutionary mass ferment and counter-revolutionary mobilization. A congress called in the white light of the crisis, compelled to render accounts and establish perspectives, would have revealed the theoritical nakedness and strategical incompetence of the bureaucracy too lividly. But now that the crisis is receding somewhat the Spanish revoltion tranquilly "weathered" and the German situation translated into Hitlerism, the officialdom deems it relatively safe to meet again. Now that the proletarian revolution is no longer the on the order of the day, and the workers must struggle desperately to retain the most elementary democratic rights, the bankrupt Stalin faction can afford the luxury of empty threats and super-radical postures. The loyal rank-and-file may be deceived but the New York Times will smile indulgently.

This is not the first time that Stalin has sought to trick history and evade an accounting. Between the Fourth and Fifth Congresses, four significant years elapsed, signalized by the General Strike in England, revolution in China, and the crisis in Soviet economy. But the puppet Sixth Congress (1928) could do nothing except idealize accomplished blunders and resounding defeats. The voice of Marxism, the Russian opposition, had been stifled by police measures, Trotsky was exiled in Siberia. The sixth congress was a formallity; the yes-men excepted the instructions of the Stalinized Polit Bureau without question. The projected congress will be on the same lofty plain. There will be self-praise. Incense will be lavishly burned to the "Duce" of the bureaucracy as the best disciple of Lenin". Some unfortunate fifth rater will be singles out for a sacrificial victim as the bearer of a right or left wing deviation. But a decorative congress of the Comintern will as little prove that it is the general staff of the world revolution as the session of the 2nd International in Paris disproved that organization to be the foul cadaver Roas Luxemburg called it.

The collapse of the Comintern is one of the outstanding tragedies of the revolutionary epoch. The first international, which laid the theoretical foundations of Communism, did not"degenerate". Its dissappearance with the fall of the Paris Commune of 1870 was due principally not to the furious ideological conflict between the ideas of Marxism and Anarchism, and the consequent struggle for control, but to the indubitable fact that Capitalism was still in the process of development. History, commented Engles, made it clear that the level of economic development on the continent was then not ripe, by far, for the finish of capitalist production. Even the second international with its mass socialist parties and trade union movements had arisen under conditions of expanding productive forces, of the national state, of bourgeoise democracy--conditions which fostered the formation of a labor aristocracy What finally wrecked the second international as a progressive movement was the opportunist adaption of its leadership to the conditions of the national state; when imperialism, finance capital, and monopoly had begun replace the relatively pacific phase of industrial capitalism. The third international was the product of world war and proletarian revolution, the epoch of all the social pre-requis-

Maria Reese and Karl Friedberg Accuse!

(Statement of two Communist Leaders)

ites for the successful struggle for the dictatorship of the working class.

"The Third International", states the Joint Manifesto of the Four Organizations for the New International, fell victim to a chain of historical contradictions." The treacherous role of the social democracy, and the immaturity of the communist parties led to the break-down of the pstwar revolutionary movements in the East and West. The isolated position ofthe proletarian dictatorship in a backward country gave extraordinary power to the ever more conservative and nationally limited Soviet bureaucracy. The servile dependance of the sections of the Comintern led in its turn to degeneration of theory and practise of the communist parties, to their organizational weakening to the point where the Comintern has become an obstacle in the way of the revolutionary movement. The capitulation of the German Communist Party before the advance of Fascism. in conditions favorable to revolutionary initiatie, demonstrated conclusively that the Comintern is incapable of fulfilling the historic role it asumed in 1919. Its theory has become "Socialism in one Country"; its organization has become bureaucratism; its sections have become impotent auxiliaries of every centrist manoeuvre in the diplomatic interests of he Soviet Foreign Office.

The organization of the New International, communist parties that will apply the lines of the Leninist Congresss, has become the basic task of the revolutionary vangurd, if the masses are to be released from the fetters of both socialist reformism and bureaucratic centrism, and to be mobilized for a victorious struggle against war and fascism.

M. S.

The historic capitulation of the German Communist party before the attack of Hitler has had its repercussions in Communist parties the world over. Whether, far from the scene, Stalinism can still dupe its followers remains yet to be seen. In Germany, where the collapse of Stalinism leaves no room for further illusions, the result has been as one would expect. Those comrades in the ranks of the party who are still Marxists and revolutionaries, have not hesitated to draw the better conclusions, and take up the only position a Communist can take --for a new party.

We reproduce below excerpts from the statements of two of the leading members of the German Communist Party, Maria Reese and Karl Friedburg. These comrades, disdaining the bribes of Stalinism for their silence, have openly and courageously declared for the new party and have joined the banner of the International Left Opposition in the struggle to this end.

We reproduce from "Unser Wort" a biography of Marie Reese---------"Comrade Maria Reese was one of the best known and most beloved mass speakers of the Communist Party of Germany. All her meetings used to be over filled. She distinguished herself from the other C. P. G. speakers, by leaving aside all the empty phrases and meaningless gestures and by,instead of that, seriously and objectively polemizing against the policy of the social democracy. In 1929, comrade Reese, at that time a member of the Reichstag, came over to the C.P.G. from the S.D.G., after realizing that the policy of the S.P.G. could not lead to socialism but rather aided Fascism. Her action aroused a great deal of attention among the working class at that time and was utilized by the C.P.G. in a big campaign against the social democracy. After the German catastrophe, when she saw that the C.P.G. had collapsed in Germany and that all

CCF "Marxists" and Stalinist "Critics"

A.M. STEPHEN, "Fascism: The Black International"
B.C. Clarion Press, Vancouver; 10 cents

The zealous circulation of this pamphlet by the C.C.F. is a very mixed blessing. Though its author does present, as the B.C. Clarion claims (June, 1934) valuable propaganda material explaining the origin and class basis of both Italian and German fascism, and though he reveals the rapid spread of fascist thought throughout the world, even into Canada and perhaps the B.C. legislature, his proposals for fighting it are so ludicrously contradictory that even the Stalinites have been able to argue with him.

It doesn't follow, however, that the review of Stephen's pamphlet in the mighty Toronto WORKER gets much further. The WORKER pundit manages by dint of two full columns of the usual quotation-juggling to make the obvious points: that Stephen has assumed at the most an Austro-Marxism, with its asinine promise to "defend" (AFTER the instruments for defense have been taken away) the democratic scraps fallen from the capitalist table, scraps which in turn are confused with workers' democracy. But no Stalinite analysis could end there. It is necessary to prove that any one who is not already a dutiful cog in the Stalintern or in one of its fake united front committees, must be some kind of a fascist. It is true that the dear old chestnut "social fascism" seems to have been pulled from the fire of late, but the idea survives. And so scribe Fullerton manages by a transparent perversion of Stephen's meaning to "prove" that Stephen is "consciously or unconsciously" a counter-revolutionist and ERGO a fascist himself after all.

It appears that Poet Stephen had written—very incautiously to be sure—"if on the other hand it (the middle class) PERMITS (my caps E.R.) a working class revolution, its privileges will disappear; and its few remaining profits will vanish." But this does not mean, as Stalinite Fullerton shouts, that Stephen is "ostensibly warning the petty bourgeoisie that they should NOT PERMIT a working-class revolution." Stephen makes it clear that he is describing the dilemma of a middle-classer, and from such a one's viewpoint, facing extinction between the millstones of monopolistic capital and proletarian revolution. Any one but a Stalinite would see that Stephen is warning the middle class not to believe fascism's promise to find them an escape from the millstones, and urging them to work for socialism.

But our Stalinite solon was so busy smelling out another counter revolutionary that he had no space left to make fundamental criticism of Stephen's dubious Marxism, even if he knew what they are, which is doubtful. For instance to speak, as Stephen does, of fascism as a "Secret International" is itself a confusion. Though fascism is spreading rapidly it is doing so on successive national bases and must continue to do so, since the capitalists of the great nations are in a ceaseless trade war with each other by the very nature of capitalism. So it is that Dollfuss, Hitler, and Mussolini, though dictators in contiguous fascist states, have not been able to form a stable partnership. Italian capital races as much with German as with French. Fascist union will come, if ever, openly and by joint attack on worker's Russia. Until that happens it is unrealistic to speak of a secret black international, and it is moreover a cheapening of a great word to speak of fascism as an "International."

Again Stephen speaks (page 8) as if a Fascist State goes out deliberately to promote war in order that capitalism may rid itself of surplus laborers. No, fascism breeds war as much blindly as wishfully because fascism is the violent retention of the profit system and that system by its very nature breeds war. By the same token the Stevens enquiry is not "part of the world-plan" of the Fascist "International". This is a melodramatic ascription of world-craftiness to a group of Canadian monopolists who by a ballyhooed "impartial" enquiry are striving desperately on the one hand to discredit smaller trade rivals and on the other hand to appease Canadian working-class pressure for higher wages and better working conditions.

And why does Stephen class the N.R.A. and the B.C. Liberal Party with the "Reformists, the Social-Democrats" (p. 17) when even a Stalinite could tell him (though Comrade Fullerton doesn't) that both the Canadian Liberals and the American Democrats are frankly capitalist parties? The answer, it is plain, is that Mr. Stephen has talked himself into a hole. He puts all the blame on the Social-Democrats for the defeat in Germany, and the reaction in England, while in the same breath he urges "UNITED action" under the CCF, whence "we may, by constitutional methods and without loss of human life and property (wont any capitalists lose "their" property? E.R.) stage the second Revolution in Canadian history" etc. (p. 22-23). In other words, having damned the political ideas of the CCF (the real Social-Democrat and Reformist party in Canada) he must ascribe parliamentary socialism to the Liberals in order to justify his own recent conversion to the CCF! What childishness!

One wonders what can be Stephen's motives for such obscurantism. His blank silence on the role of Stalinism does not come from ignorance, for only a year ago Stephen was publicly attacking in Vancouver the Stalinist bureaucracy and criticizing it for its catastrophic tactics in Germany. At the same time he has declared himself a Marxist-Leninist.

The present reviewer is charitable enough to suppose that A. M. Stephen is more befuddled than insincere. His realization of the urgent need for united action makes him forget the necessity, enuciated by Marx and historically proved by the party of Lenin, that "mass SOLIDARITY and mass ACTION" (p.22.) are created by honest united fronts but that the seizure of power comes only when the vanguard of the masses has built a revolutionary party prepared not just to "resort to armed defence, if we are denied the use of the ballot" (p.23) but prepared to take the offensive and, by the Workers Soviets capture the State Power and set up workers' rule. Then only will socialist construction begin.

It is such a party that we, the Bolshevik-Leninists, are building in Canada and throughout the world. Our "technical differences of theory and tactics" which Mr. Stephen so petulantly wants us to sink for a unity with all the vacillating petit-bourgeois malcontents and gradualists in Canada, are vital, and not to be abandoned for a Unity at Any Price. Were Mr. Stephen the Marxist he claims to be, he would have learned by now a cardinal axiom of Marxism—that the end conditions and determines the means. A revolution can only be effected by a REVOLUTIONARY party.

E. Robertson

INTRODUCTION and Explanatory Notes (to *The Lessons of October*, by LeonTrotsky,1924) by Maurice Spector, 1937, New York

Both in point of circumstance and intention the *Lessons of October* was designed to be more than merely an essay in historical research. Had it been only that, however, and no more its contribution would still rank as invaluable. The complete knowledge of the events that culminated Soviet insurrection is now available in the incomparable narrative of Trotsky's monumental history (*History of the Russian Revolution, in 3 volumes)*. But when the present text first appeared in 1924 the October period was shrouded in a deep haze. One need take two instances only. The bourgeois world regarded the Bolshevik success as a piece of lucky improvisation. Communists, especially of the West, mystically thought that minor exceptions apart, Bolsheviks had tackled the revolutionary crisis with requisite political foresight and as a concerted unit.

That the Russians themselves failed to clear up this confusion, cannot have been altogether because they were preoccupied with the tasks of social reconstruction. The pre-October history of the party did not suffer the like neglect. The fact was that the analytical study of October threatened the prestige of "vested interests." The bureaucratic regime entrenched after Lenin's death had cause to avoid a close scrutiny of the record. Lenin's Testament had said of Zinoviev and Kamenev that "their retreat in October was not accidental." Neither was it accidental, the study of October would reveal, that in the absence of Lenin, the entire Bolshevik Old Guard bad failed to gauge the character of the 1917 revolution. Consciously or otherwise, it was for this reason. that they slurred over the October experience as an incident in party history no more important than some others. For Trotsky, on the other hand, the crucible of October furnished the acid test of Marxist strategy and the calibre of the leadership. The Communist International must assimilate the lessons of the October experience or invite disaster. But the reaction had already set in and the party bureaucracy was far more interested in consolidating its own national power. Trotsky, under whose "immediate leadership," in Stalin's own statement, "all the work of practical organization of the insurrection was conducted," became the target of a campaign of unparalleled virulence. Unable to ignore revolutionary history, the bureaucracy decreed its falsification. The attack. on the *Lessons of October,* disingenuously called the "literary discussion," was thus to mark an important stage in the struggle between Stalinist nationalism and Leninist (or "Trotskyist") internationalism.

The immediate occasion of the *Lessons of October*, Trotsky's introduction to his collected writings of 1917, was the debacle of the German communist movement in 1923. In the postwar years, the key to the Western revolution indubitably lay in the hands of Germany. Strangled by the fetters of Versailles, the most highly industrialized and concentrated economy of Europe repeatedly provoked class antagonisms to the verge of explosion. Anxious in 1923 to recover freedom of action, the German bourgeoisie decided to abandon its policy of reparations "fulfilment" for that of passive resistance. When the Cuno government failed to make delivery of certain payments in kind, Poincaré ordered the occupation of the Ruhr. To finance the costs of resistance, the Central Government, reserves and credit gone, had recourse to the worst inflation in modern history. But those who paid the price were

neither the subsidized Ruhr industrialists nor financiers like Stinnes who built up colossal fortunes. The victims were the middle classes whose fixed incomes were pitilessly expropriated and the working class whose wage levels were forced down to less than subsistence levels. The foundations of the social structure cracked; confidence in bourgeois democracy, never too strong, was shattered; hatred of the Versailles Treaty mounted.

Increasingly the masses turned for salvation to communism. If after the debacle, the Communist party was still able to muster 3,700,000 votes and augment its Reiehstag representation, there is every indication that in 1923 the party could have rallied a decisive majority of the masses. Yet the entire extent of its action was limited to forming a coalition ministry with the left-wing Social Democrats of "Red" Saxony, a ministry which in the brief interlude of its existence, failed to proclaim a single revolutionary measure unless it could be the agreement to indemnify the King of Saxony! At one point the party leadership finally did screw up its courage to fix the date of insurrection. But Brandler made some rapid computations to show that the bourgeoisie had superior military forces and the central Committee immediately revoked its decision. Acting under the Emergency Powers Act (Belagerungszustand), von Seeckt's Reichswehr thereupon seized the initiative, ejected the "Red" Saxon government, and proscribed the Communists. While Brandier, Thailheimer and other party officials fled to Moscow, American capitalism entered the scene with the Dawes Plan and the situation was again stabilized.

Eight months after this passive surrender of the party, the Fifth Congress of the Communist International met to take stock. Unfortunately, its deliberations were animated less by the critical spirit of Lenin than the imperturbable optimism of Voltaire's Doctor Pangloss. The "parliamentary Saxon comedy" came in for glib condemnation and there were loud protestations never to again embark on another coalition with "left" Social Democrats! There was considerable talk about having misjudged the "tempo," ready denunciation of the right wing danger, and endless ballyhoo in favor of "bolshevization." Above all, the Congress was concerned with saddling the responsibility on Brandler and whitewashing the pontifical Moscow Executive. The one thing the Congress failed to take into account—the essence of its problem—was as Trotsky put it, that "in the circumstances of the present epoch, a revolutionary situation can be lost for several years in the course of a few days."

Throughout his political career, Trotsky has conceived the destiny of the Russian proletariat he bound up with the prospects of the European revolution. As far back as 1905. he bad already concluded that in an economically back ward country like Russia the revolution could create conditions enabling the proletariat to conquer power earlier than in a capitalistically advanced country. The victorious proletariat would not, he held, stop at the program of bourgeois democracy; the attempt to solve the agrarian problem would involve a clash with capitalist as well as feudal property, leading to the program of socialism. At least as fully as anyone else, Trotsky recognized the need of immediate and practical domestic measures to strengthen the sole existing dictatorship. His *New Course* in the Soviet economic crisis of 1923, had been a forceful plea in behalf of economic planning on the basis of the widest possible

workers democracy. But Trotsky no less than Lenin realized that in the last analysis the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union could only be assured by the European revolution. The productive forces had outgrown the national boundaries, and no matter how great the economic successes of an isolated workers' state, the program of "socialism in one country" was a petty-bourgeois Utopia . Revolutionary reverses abroad would inevitably menace Soviet Russia with an ever tighter capitalist encirclement. The Bolshevik Old Guard could no more remain exempt from the long-term pressure of adverse social forces than any previous revolutionary leadership which had suffered degeneration. The salvation of the Revolution demanded the extension of its frontiers,

Practically then, this necessitated the development of communist parties, rooted in the masses, and strong enough to take advantage of any revolutionary crisis to conquer political power. The reason the post-war revolutionary wave had not engulfed the bourgeois states lay in the absence of communist parties that could wrest the 1eadership of the mass movement from the hold of the conservative Social Democracy. How little Trotsky's emphasis on the role of leadership has in common with conspiratorial Blanquism is from the decisive part he took along with Lenin, in defeating the putschist element at the Third Congress. In1921, the leaders of the German Communist party, acting on their "theory of the offensive," initiated an armed uprising at a time when the party lacked sufficient mass support, and the revolutionary tide had ebbed. What Trotsky urged in order to put the party in a position to conquer power, was to penetrate the masses by means of a realistic approach to their experiences in the daily struggle, and by means of the policy of the united front. But in 1923 the problem was very different. What presented itself now was that despite capitalist disintegration and a revolutionary situation, a communist ***mass*** party could still remain paralyzed. The closer the advent of the revolutionary crisis, the more imminent—the crisis in the revolutionary general staff. A right wing would arise to rationalize its irresolution and wind up by denying the presence of any revolutionary situation at all. It would insist that "time was on our side," that the situation would grow steadily worse, and the chances of ultimate victory more certain.

To throw light on this aspect of the revolutionary crisis, should have been the task of the Fifth Congress. But unfortunately for the future of the Comintern, the character of the Russian leadership of that Congress was such as to cast complete doubt on its competence to sit in judgment over the Germans. The epoch of imperialism demands at least two indispensable qualifications of a Marxist leadership: to understand the significance of the proletarian revolution, and to grasp the crucial moment of a revolutionary crisis to complete the turn from agitation to insurrection. Until Lenin's return from abroad in 1917, however, not a single member of the Bolshevik Old Guard had envisaged either the conquest of power or the socialist revolution. Their role, in fact, had been quite indistinguishable from the left-wing Social Democrats. "Of course, there is no question among us of the downfall of capitalism but only of the downfall of autocracy and feudalism," so wrote the *Pravda* edited by Kamenev and Stalin in March 1917. If Russia had yet to complete her democratic revolution, the proletariat had loyally to confine itself within the limits of the "old Bolshevik" slogan of "democratic dictatorship" as opposed to proletarian dictatorship. The Provisional Government had to be supported “conditionally" and "in so far" as it would renounce annexations or conclude

peace. Only under the iron-willed leadership of Lenin and his biting criticism of the old Bolshevik formulas did the party effect its re-orientation. Demanding a complete break with the bourgeois regime, the April Theses set the masses on the road to insurrection and soviet power.

If the ideological re-armament of the party in 1917 was the great achievement of Lenin, its disarmament since 1924 may be said to be largely the fruit of Stalin. When he wrote T*he Lessons of October,* Trotsky could not have been fully aware that it was Stalin who would become the pivot of the bureaucracy, though Lenin's Testament had sounded a profound note of warning. Certainly he could not have imagined that the slightest criticism of Stalin would in time be visited by penalties harsher than for lêse majesté under the Tsar. Or that the day would dawn when both Kamenev and Zinoviev, Presidents respectively, of the Moscow and Leningrad Soviets, would be done to death by Stalin's firing squad. Not till 1935 was it borne in on Trotsky that the Thermidor had overtaken the Soviet regime already a decade earlier. The ever growing differentiation of wages, of privilege and of rank was to create an aristocracy, nationalist in outlook and incompatible with Soviet democracy. Not only was the Left Opposition, expressing the socialist interests of the unprivileged working class, to be crushed, but the internationalist (Leningrad) wing of the Old Guard was itself to he devoured. The authority successively of the Politbureau, the Central Committee and the Party Congress was swallowed up by the omnipotent General Secretary.

The principal source of this reaction lay in the numerous defeats of the world proletariat; nevertheless it was the Stalinist Comintern that contributed to those defeats most heavily. Despite violent intervals of ultraleftism, Stalin's general line is best illustrated by his opportunist attitude to the German events of 1923. Characteristically, while joining in the full-throated hue and cry for the heads of Brandler and Thalheimer, Sta1in had been covertly supporting a position almost identical with their own. In the letter to Zinoviev and Bukharin, which the former made public in 1927, ***Stalin wrote*** "...if today in Germany, the power so to speak falls, and the Communists seize hold of it, they will fall with a crash. That is the 'best' case And, at the worst, they will smashed to pieces and thrown back. The whole thing is not that Brandler wants to "educate the masses' but that the bourgeoisie, plus the Right Social Democrats, will surely transform the lessons – the demonstration – into a general battle (at this moment alI the chances are on their side) and exterminate them. Of course, the fascists are not asleep, but it is to our interest that they attack first; that will rally the whole working class around the Communists (Germany is not Bulgaria). Besides, according to all information, the fascists are weak in Germany. In my opinion, the Germans must be curbed and not spurred on." *(End of Stalin quote—ed.)*

The direct antithesis of the *Lessons of October,* this thoroughly opportunistic statement of Stalin's was wrong at almost every point. In the light of events, the conclusion that 'Germany is not Bulgaria' unconsciously reaches the level of the grotesque. The fascists must attack first because at will rally the workers around the Communists, but the Fascists are weak, so the Germans must be curbed. Whether in Gemany, France, or Spain today—in every revolutionary situation since 1923— the strategical wisdom of Stalinism has been this same line of curbing the masses. The argument closely resembles that which some "old Bolsheviks" used to oppose the insurrection of 1917. But not only that. In the struggle against the *permanent revolution,* the bureaucracy has also reverted ideologically to the outlived formula of 1905 Bolshevism, the "democratic dictatorhip of the proletariat and peasantry." It may be discovered, in one form or

another, as the theory behind the "bloc of four classes" in the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, the Workers and Peasants' Parties for the East, the People's Front now.

The Stalinist attempt to set up a “workers and peasants” coalition, not to realize socialism but merely to liquidate autocracy and feudalism has worked out catastrophically. As in the Chinese Revolution, the Comintern must, for the sake of its alliance with the Kuomintang, curb agrarian uprisings and workers' strikes. The anti-Trotskyist "theoreticians" cannot or will not grasp the simple fact that the old state machine was smashed and the agrarian revolution consummated not by the Kerensky but the proletarian regime. The "democratic dictatorship" formula is imposed on the colonial East ostensibly to "liquidate the remainders of feudalism.' For the capitalist West, where Stalinism is now dedicated to saving "the vestiges of bourgeois democracy" it has devised the panacea of the People's Front. If there was one country in the world where the support of a People's Front might appear to have been justified, it was preponderantly peasant Russia, which had not yet passed through the stage of the democratic revolution. A version of the People's Front did in fact exist there—the coalition of the Cadets (liberals), Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, to which Stalin and Kamenev had lent "conditional" support. Yet Lenin's entire strategy was directed against against the alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie and towards the overthrow of this People's Front. Leninism never confounded episodic agreements and compromises for practical ends, with the very different matter of common policy and program. The independent role of the proletariat in the class struggle, and its hegemony, were axiomatic. Neither was there any place in Lenin's Marxism for a regime transitional between dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and that of the proletariat. State power, he held, was the basic question in any revolution. A “combined” type of state, the Soviets representing the proletariat and the Constituent Assembly the bourgeois power, was to Lenin a simple renunciation of Marxism and socialism.

As with the Chinese “Bloc of Four Classes” formally, the People's Front is defended, on the ground that it represents an alliance between the proletariat and the middle classes peasantry. The People's Front is in fact, however, only tolerated by the bourgeoisie because it allies the proletariat with the status quo of capitalist democracy. The People's Front stands for bourgeois law and order; it orders police action against peasant seizure of the land and the workers occupation of the factories; it votes the military budget. The alliance of the middle classes is not formed through the representatives of the petty-bourgeois parties dependent on finance-capital, the Azanas, the Daladiers and the Herriots. Under the sledge-hammer blows of the capitalist crisis the former middle-class faith in reformism gives way to the demand for sweeping and radical solutions. If the proletariat presents a revolutionary program and demonstrates its capacity for leadership it will win the middle classes. If the proletariat fails, the demagogy of fascism will succeed.

The struggle against fascism is not to be won by the defense of the corrupt and bankrupt regime of bourgeois democracy. The touchstone of revolutionary strategy today is Spain. Here is a country which affords striking similarities with the essential conditions of the Russian Revolution – belated bourgeoisie tied up with feudal exploitation of the land, an oppressed peasantry too amorphous itself to assume national leadership, an active proletariat of matchless courage and self-sacrifice. Neither the Azanas nor the Companys have given the slightest indication that they can solve the democratic tasks of the revolution any better than Kerensky. But the Stalinist bureaucracy has decreed the issue in Spain to be "democracy versus

fascism," and by word and deed the La Passionarias and others are doing all in their power to stifle the proletarian revolution.

Perhaps some will think the burden of the *Lessons of October* very important for Europe but somewhat remote rom the problems of the American worker. There could be no greater mistake. The basic changes in the social structure of the United States have already occurred. The crisis of the Thirties brought American capitalism to the verge of collapse. The morale of the ruling classes was ominously shaken. If the result was merely the New Deal instead socialist reconstruction, it was because there was no party of the proletariat on the scene, powerfully enough rooted in the masses to assume revolutionary leadership. Given the fundamental limitations of the New Deal, the recurrence of the crisis is inevitable. Unless the socialist vanguard of the American working class sees this clearly and takes measures accordingly, history will not deal with it more kindly than with the German or Austrian proletariat. Our epoch is one of concentrated class struggle; one country after another is drawn into the vortex of social upheaval. The German revolution of 1918 is followed by the Hungarian revolution of 1919. The Italian workers occupy the metal factories in 192O. There is the German crisis of 1923 and the British general strike of 1926. Vienna flares up in 1927. The Chinese revolution of 1925-27. The German catastrophe of 1933; the Austrian barricades; the French general strike of 1934 and occupation of factories in 1936. Civil War grips Spain. Tomorrow it may be the United States. To avoid defeat, the proletariat must prepare. Fabians and Laborite politicians who view socialism as a seesaw struggle for fifty-one per cent of the vote, do not understand this – but the conquest of power is quite unlike sponsoring a new Bill. Punishment for political sloth in our days is swift and terrible. ***The proletariat cannot, like the British Empire, muddle through. It is not necessary to believe that the Bolshevik organization was always a clockwork mechanism, perfect embodiment of all the Comintern's fifty paragraphs on party construction. It did embody experience, initiative, self-sacrifice. It was the pressure of the organized worker-Bolsheviks that made Lenin's victory in the Central Committee possible. The conclusion is inescapable. Without a revolutionary party, trained in the methods of Marxism, the spontaneous mass movement remains blind.*** *(Emphasis by the Ed.)*

The theme of power has recently been taken up by writers of the school of Mr. John Strachey. But their approach is striking contrast to the *Lessons of October.* Trotsky believes that the proletariat must learn to beware not only of social-democratic reformism, but no less of the disastrous policies of the Stalinist Comintern. In his “Coming Struggle for Power,” Mr. Strachey subjects the Social-Democracy to withering criticism, but tactfully, even miraculously, succeeds in writing a chapter on the Nature of Communism without any earthly reference to the actual record of the Comintern. In this he is like another expert on the problem of power, Mr. Palme Dutt, who monthly excoriates the crimes of the Labour Party and the Second International, leaving his readers with the distinct impression that only the Communist Party is eternally sublime, true and beautiful. Trotsky spurns this political smugness as a complete disservice to the revolutionary cause. For that reason he is again today in a minority, and as these lines are written, driven to find asylum in Mexico. There are those who consider that because Stalin has the power to persecute, Trotsky must have been wrong. To them Lenin once gave the answer: “We are not charlatans … We must base ourselves on the consciousness of the masses. Even if it is necessary to remain in a minority, be it so. We must not be afraid to be in a minority. We will carry on the work of criticism in order to free the masses from deceit … our line will prove right … All the oppressed will come to us. They have no other way out...”

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JANUARY 1938
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Ours was that of Petersburg, that is, that Petersburg would carry off the affair in that manner; but Lenin departed from the point of view of a general uprising in the entire country and did not accord such a big place to the uprising of the Petersburg garrison.

The date of the uprising was fixed for October 15.

PODVOISKY: As I recall, I believe the session was held earlier, otherwise there would have been a delay.

TROTSKY: The meeting of the responsible militants undoubtedly took place after the meeting of the Central Committee, when the question was already resolved. It was then that Zinoviev and Kamenev were authorized to defend their points of view. But the decision of the Central Committee was made. From that, I conclude that the meeting of the Central Committee took place at the beginning of October, the 3rd, I think, for I recall that the uprising was foreseen for the 15th at the latest. A nuance appeared precisely over the fixing of the date. I insisted that the Revolutionary War Committee be charged with preparing the moment of the uprising for the day of the Soviet Congress, This did not arouse a big discussion, but it was decided that the uprising would take place either at the end of October or the beginning of November.

KOZMIN: Was this decision made before or after the departure of the Bolsheviks from the Pre-Parliament?

TROTSKY: It was after. When did that departure occur?

PODVOISKY: In September.

TROTSKY: I said that it was after the Bolsheviks had left the Pre-Parliament. But I cannot say exactly. In any case, this decision was made after the session of the fraction where the question was being discussed: should we enter the Pre-Parliament or not? I was a supporter of the boycott. Rykov did not share my standpoint. Only later did we receive a letter from Lenin in Finland, in which he pronounced himself for the boycott. After that, the session of the Central Committee presented the character of an effort towards getting down to exact details, dotting the *i*'s. In the behavior of the party nuclei, in the regiments, among the commissars, we felt a good deal of indecision. . . .

An American Purge

The private lives of Stalinist functionaries are now to be investigated in preparation for a purge in the Communist Party, according to Earl Browder, writing in the *Daily Worker* (Dec. 3, 1937).

WE MUST begin to examine the private lives of all of our leading cadres as a necessary and unavoidable part of the guarantee of the political integrity of our Party. And this applies to everybody, from top to bottom. And to the degree that we find problems that cannot be corrected, let us know in advance that there is always a final way of guaranteeing the Party against dangers—that is, removing people from responsible positions . . .

BOOKS

After Twenty Years

MOSCOW, 1937. By LION FEUCHTWANGER. Trans. from the German by Irene Josephy. xiii+151 pp. New York. The Viking Press. $2.00.

RETURN FROM THE U.S.S.R. By ANDRÉ GIDE. Trans. from the French by Dorothy Bussy. xvi+94 pp. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. $1.00.

RETOUCHES A MON RETOUR DE L'U.R.S.S. Par ANDRE GIDÉ. 126 pp. Paris. Gallimard. Fr. 9.

WHAT HAS BECOME OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. By M. YVON. Trans. from the French by Integer. 64 pp. New York. International Review. 25c.

PROLETARIAN JOURNEY. By FRED BEAL. xiv+352 pp. *Illus.* New York. Hillman-Curl, Inc. $2.75.

ASSIGNMENT IN UTOPIA. By EUGENE LYONS. 648 pp. New York. Harcourt, Brace and Co. $3.50.

RUSSIA: TWENTY YEARS AFTER. By VICTOR SERGE. Trans. from the French with an introduction by Max Shachtman. xii+298 pp. New York. Pioneer Publishers. $2.50.

Some years ago Julien Benda wrote a striking little book called *The Treason of the Intellectuals*. The reference was to the literary prophets, the world reconstructionists and moral iconclasts who noisily strutted their ideals in the security of peace, but in 1914 effortlessly prostrated themselves before the imperialist war machine. The Fabian exhibitionist Shaw toured the Western Front in the company of General Sir Douglas Haig; Wells entered the British Intelligence Service. Upton Sinclair discovered the messianic mission of Wilson. The German professors whitewashed the invasion of Belgium. But the treason of contemporary intellectuals has already outdistanced the infamy of their predecessors. Racing ahead of the very General Staffs themselves, they clamor for a Holy War to Save Democracy. And most conspicuous of the lot are the intellectual lackeys of Stalinism. The depths of their treason are still unplumbed.

Intellectuals who once professionally invoked 18-carat words like Truth, Humanity and Civilization have been converted to the Machiavellian morality of the O.G.P.U. The Moscow trials? It will take a hundred years to learn the truth. There may have been no convincing court evidence but the crimes imputed to the Old Bolsheviks were psychologically possible. If there was a frame-up, it is best for the sake of the Soviet Union to keep loyally quiet. Granted Trotsky is no terrorist, his program of world revolution is a menace to Peace and Democracy anyway. Whatever atrocities Stalin commits, still he is for the Popular Front, isn't he? When all is said and done, the Purges have only killed off a few thousand; over a hundred million Soviet citizens still go about their business. What if several million peasants did die of starvation during Stalin's dizzy collectivization, they were only peasants, weren't they. You can't make an omelette without breaking eggs.

It is this school of Truth that the noble Feuchtwanger has joined. His book is the product of exactly ten days in Moscow made up of interviews conducted through the lucid medium of a translator. But Feuchtwanger is no ordinary tourist. He is a refugee whose property has been confiscated by the Nazis. His novels have dramatized the cause of Justice. He branded Nazi book-burning as a return to mediævalism. He has excoriated the *Gestapo*, mocked the Führer cult, and pilloried totalitarian art, science and literature. Ten days in Moscow and Feuchtwanger is sure that socialism is being built, the living standards of the masses are being raised, and everything else will inevitably follow. He is admitted into the illumined Presence of the Beloved Leader himself and finds that the Stalin cult is simply a naïve expression of the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism. The "confessions" of the O.G.P.U.'s victims he glibly accepts as genuine. The persecution of Soviet writers like Pilnyak for deviating from the Line is a matter of indifference. That no bonfire need be made of Trotsky's writings because they may be read only at the risk of deportation or death, is a small point. Feuchtwanger finds no censorship. Feuchtwanger says, Yes, Yes, Yes, and Feuchtwanger's works will be published by the State in waves of many thousands and the royalties will mount up. Feuchtwanger has become an "engineer of the soul".

That Feuchtwanger's début should coincide with André Gide's break with the Stalinist régime cannot have been accidental. It was necessary to counteract that blow at once. Gide is one of a number of intellectuals who either never lost or who have recovered their integrity. Since he published *Return from the Soviet Union*, he has been subjected to the usual virulent Stalinist barrage. But he has stood his ground manfully. His first book was a series of impressions. He was able to discount the honeyed pep-talk of the translators. The door was sometimes left sufficiently ajar for Gide to catch a glimpse of the underlying reality and what he saw shocked him into a candid reëxamination. His conclusions will be remembered: ". . . the spirit which is today held to be counter-revolutionary is that same spirit which first broke through the half-rotten dam of the Tsarist world. . . . I doubt whether in any other country in the world, even Hitler's Germany, thought is less free, more bowed down, more terrorized, more vassalized." The objection was then made that Gide was unduly preoccupied with the fate of the mind, and ignored the decisive criterion of economics. *Retouches* is mainly an answer to his critics, fortified by much

reading and economic data from Soviet sources, and contrasting the actuality of Stalinism with the program of Leninism.

The significance of Gide's two books lies not of course in their accuracy as works of theory; Gide sets up no pretensions there. What is important is the man's integrity as an observer able to fight off the cloying fog of official adulation threatening to drug every writer who visits the U.S.S.R. The great "cultural front" that Stalinism built up during the years of the Five Year Plan is beginning to crack and the single biggest hammer-blow was struck by the Moscow trials. Stalin has been so successful in the art of "managing" the intellectuals either by flattery or bribery that he has become too contemptuous of them. The special privileges that writers enjoyed in the Soviet Union, the royalties, the salaries, the automobiles, the country-houses, were Stalin's crafty means of guaranteeing an airtight censorship. Deadened consciences made the task of the police easier. Gide shows that the human mind will survive even Stalin. There is still enough of the spirit of scientific research and respect for truth, of that idealism to which Trotsky paid tribute in Dewey, to encourage the hope that an increasing number of intellectuals will take their stand with the revolutionary working class against the totalitarianisms of both Hitler and Stalin.

One of the sources upon which Gide draws for confirmation is Yvon, a French worker who spent eleven years in the Soviet Union both at the bench and in a managerial capacity. Regardless of his conclusions which we find inacceptable, Yvon's pamphlet is valuable for the light it throws on the cold facts. These facts completely deflate the official myth that the Soviet Union has "already entered upon the final and irrevocable victory of socialism", a myth serving to justify the ends of unscrupulous reaction and the bloody suppression of all criticism and opposition. Especially do we recommend these facts to the "social worker" who becomes an expert on the Soviet Union on the strength of having peered at the inevitable crèche, to the visiting professor who avidly jots down notes for a book on progressive educational institutions that will be relegated to limbo by the time of his return home, and not least to the Webbs weaving their endless coccoons from official Soviet blue books.

It is not a pretty picture that Yvon draws of the housing, food, wages, and working conditions of the Soviet factory worker. The new apartment houses photograph as impressively as the giant plants that inspired Miss Bourke-White's trick camera shots. The trouble with those magnificent photographs was that they didn't tell you whether the newly erected plant worked. The new apartments are reserved for the bureaucracy, specialists, army officers, soul engineers. Those still higher in the social scale live in "private pavilions". Personal servants of the bureaucrats have special quarters. The Stakhanovite has the newly built "common house". The prevailing system of housing for the "common worker" is the wooden barracks whose single rooms contain from 25 to 40 beds. The furniture is of the meanest and ugliest. Ten percent of the worker's wages goes for rent. To graduate out of these barracks may entail years of probation as a "candidate tenant".

The ordinary Russian worker's daily menu consists of: Breakfast (before eight o'clock), tea and bread; lunch (at noon), factory meal or when not at work, tea and bread; dinner (5 p.m.), soup and kaska; supper (8 p.m.), tea and bread. Fish, butter, eggs, oil, rice and sugar are luxuries for workers who must make ends meet on a monthly wage ranging from 80 to 200 rubles. The incomes of the bureaucracy range from 1,500 to 10,000 rubles a month, and that applies equally to so-called "party" members. From his meager wages, the worker suffers further reductions in the form of taxes, loans and assessments running from 15 to 21 percent of his pay envelope. The piecework system drives him without regard to his nerves or muscles. "Produce in seven hours more than in seven," is the managerial slogan. The best sanatoria, rest homes, and pleasure resorts go to the officials and Stakhanovites. For their two weeks' holiday, the rank and file are herded and regimented in dormitories of the "barracks of rest".

Even more dismal, of course, is the recital of the deprivation of the workers' political liberties. The régime of the "internal passport". Never-ending surveillance by the O.G.P.U. Universal mutual espionage of Soviet citizens encouraged as the highest morality. The system of hostages. Re-introduction of military ranks. Totalitarian "elections" with the opposition eliminated by the firing squad. Capital punishment. Concentration camps. Liquidation of Soviets. Bureaucratization of trade unions. Stalinist absolutism.

Such were the conditions which another worker, this time an American, encountered. Fred Beal is of the authentic American proletariat, a mill-worker from his earliest youth. He led strikes, he marshalled picket lines, he organized demonstrations. He joined the Communist Party in the days before it was *de rigeur* for the Y.C.L. to scrub the statue of Nathan Hale and for Browder to lead in the singing of the "Stars and Stripes". For his part in the famous Gastonia strike, Beal was sentenced to twenty years. While out on bail, along with the other co-defendants he sought sanctuary in the Soviet Union. What he witnessed there made him revolt. He saw the degeneration of the once revolutionary Comintern at close quarters. He witnessed one of the great fake demonstration trials. He lived through the period of the Stalin-made famine of 1930-1933 and ran across graves with inscriptions: "I love Stalin. Bury him here as soon as possible". But when Beal, honest to his finger tips, expressed his mounting sense of horror he was told roughly and menacingly to hold his tongue. "This is not Union Square."

He determined "to make a complete break with the Stalin gang and return to the capitalist world, no matter what the consequences would be". But not to make his peace with the capitalist world. He escaped to the United States where his twenty-year sentence in North Carolina may catch up with him any day. He is on the run. Yet a liberal conspiracy of silence has been built up around his case. The officials of the Communist Party would doubtless enjoy seeing Beal arrested. One of their scribblers, Joseph Freeman, has already tipped off the police. Friendless and hunted, Beal, no giant of tactics, made the mistake of prejudicing his situation by writing up his experiences in the Hearst press. But who are the one hundred percent Bolsheviks of the Civil Liberties Union to point the finger of scorn at Beal? What right have these petty bourgeois elements to treat Beal as a pariah? In the name of what revolutionary principles and activity do the well-padded ladies and gentlemen of the *Nation* and *New Republic* cast Beal into the outer darkness? Except that he is more articulate, Beal's experiences are shared by hundreds of workers who have returned from the Stalinist U.S.S.R., their hearts swept by disillusion. The country is studded with them, not softies who expected to wallow in Roman luxury, but hard-bitten, rugged, class conscious miners, lumberjacks and the like. They wanted no privileges, they fully expected the struggle for socialist construction. It is a slander that these men are counter-revolutionists. They come back empty and remain silent. But for the most part, they remain loyal to the Soviet Union. Only their closest associates know what has happened. And when they talk, the story is much the same as Fred Beal's, a story of proletarian degradation at the hands of an insolent, omnipotent bureaucracy in the years of Soviet reaction.

This whole period has been covered with great reportorial verve and brilliance in Eugene Lyons' *Assignment in Utopia*, a book that is as sure a product of Soviet reaction as John Reed's was of the revolutionary upsurge of October. Lyons was United Press correspondent in Moscow. Those who read the *Bulletin of the Russian Opposition* recall with bitterness the glib official news reporting that came out of the U.S.S.R. in those days under the names of Duranty, Chamberlain or Lyons. We knew that we were getting half-truths and lies. Read Lyons' chapter on the failure of the correspondents to report the great famine, to present a true picture of the "Five Year Plan in Four", of the dictatorship of R.A.P.P., of the show trials. Duranty is still cynically performing for Stalin in the *New York Times*, transcribing whole editorials from *Pravda* and *Izvestia* as "news". Chamberlain came back and once safely home wrote *Russia's Iron Age* in which he not only denounced the bureaucracy but renounced the whole of Socialism. His most recent work is entitled *Collectivism, a False Utopia.* Lyons, formerly a communist sympathizer, is now working for the American Labor Party.

Lyons' vivid and detailed account of the totalitarian Stalinist régime dovetails at all

points with the political study of the same period by Victor Serge, former collaborator of the Executive of the Communist International. Each from his own point of view illuminates the underlying theory and the processes of the utopian Stalinist attempt to achieve complete "socialism in a single country", upon the basis of its own inner resources and without regard for the development of the world revolution. Trotsky's economic platform of industrialization and collectivization were parts of a larger context of workers' democracy and revolutionary internationalism. Stalin's attempt to force this program into the straitjacket of "socialism" in a single country was bound to lead to results that were the startling antithesis of everything Trotsky stood for. The economic adventurism of the "Five Year Plan in Four" against which Trotsky protested from exile, brought the country to the brink of ruin. The bureaucracy, surprised by the unexpected successes of the planned economy which they had first resisted, drunkenly proceeded as if there were no limits but the human will. The living standards of the workers, the most important of the productive forces, were callously sacrificed. Millions of peasants became victims of Stalin's administrative collectivization. Bureaucratic privilege and social inequality flourished apace. The human travail in the wake of Stalinism was immeasurable but the political consequences were no less reactionary. To unload responsibility for economic blunders and bureaucratic oppression, Stalin resorted to trumped-up sabotage and conspiracy trials. Not even Hitler's *Gestapo* tracked down communists more pitilessly than the O.G.P.U. Camouflaged in pseudo-parliamentary forms, a new despotism arose in the Kremlin. Stalinism produced a totalitarian régime by the side of which Hobbes' Leviathan would look like an anarchist utopia.

Yvon, Lyons and Serge all agree as to the facts. All arrive at different conclusions. No genuine revolutionist will be a party to painting up the situation in the Soviet Union. But neither is it sufficient to set down the stark figures of the poverty of the Soviet worker as Yvon has done, without seeing those figures in historical perspective, and without searching for the basic causes of the Soviet Union's degeneration as a workers' state. At no point does it occur to Yvon that without the October revolution the Russian worker's status would have approached that of the Chinese coolie, and Russia would have become a colony of Western capitalism. At no point does Yvon realize that despite the monstrous distortions of the bureaucracy, nationalized property relations and planned economy have even in this backward country celebrated the superiority of socialist over capitalist methods of production. Yvon is in too great haste to bury the revolution. For him nationalization is a "fiction" and the bureaucracy has become the real ruling class. One cannot very well get out an injunction prohibiting Yvon from characterizing the bureaucracy as a "class" if he insists. But for Marxists a class is definitely fixed by its independent rôle in production and by its special and characteristic property forms. The Soviet bureaucracy or considerable sections of it don't appear to have even a reasonable tenure on bare life let alone on property and its assignment or transmission. Yvon confuses the social parasitism of the bureaucracy with class exploitation. So little is nationalization a "fiction" that after all the years of reaction Stalin has not yet been able to change the basic property relations of the October revolution.

It is only confusing when, in their hatred of the Stalinist frame-ups, honest intellectuals like Silone are led to talk of "Red Fascism". Despite all the gestures of the "Corporate State" the fascist military-bureaucratic state is what it always was, the prætorian guard of heavy industry and finance capital. The control of economic life is more firmly lodged in the grip of Big Business than it has ever been. The Soviet State has degenerated into a bureaucratic-police or Bonapartist dictatorship it is true, but it still rests on the foundations of October. The analysis of the dual rôle of the Soviet bureaucracy given by Trotsky in his *Revolution Betrayed* remains the only key to the explanation of the past decade of Soviet history. Whether the bureaucracy will extend its present political monopoly and attack the economic basis of the Soviet state, or the proletariat will overthrow the bureaucracy and restore workers' democracy, will be decided by the living struggle of forces. It will be decided moreover not merely by what happens in the U.S.S.R. but by the victory or defeat of the European working class. Serge sees this clearly. "At no point in its history can the socialist revolution in Russia be considered apart from the international labor movement—the victory of the bureaucracy was prepared by the defeat of the European revolution."

What has Lyons to offer as an alternative to Bolshevism? The politically shabby and threadbare garment of Social-Democracy! And not even the German social-democracy which once had a coherent theory as well as masses, but the American Labor Party! It is true that Stalinism has betrayed the ideals of the October revolution, but the parties of Mr. Lyons' new creed betrayed the revolution long ago. Had Menshevism triumphed in 1917 the revolution would not have degenerated for the simple reason that there would have been no revolution. Mr. Lyons' present political friends have been consistently counter-revolutionary since 1914, or will he deny it? Instead of utilizing the post-war crisis for socialist reconstruction, the social-democrats worked to rebuild capitalist economy and preserve bourgeois democracy. They fulfilled the terms of the infamous Versailles Treaty. They transferred political power from the Workers' Councils to the Weimar Assembly. They restored the morale of the bourgeoisie by the coalition set-up. They deluded the masses with promises of gradual socialization. Well, what is the upshot? The German socialist party was not even able to save bourgeois democracy. The bourgeoisie rewarded its loyalty with the boot of fascism. The Scandinavian parties still administer the affairs of the capitalist state. The British Labour Party, after two trials in office, vegetates as His Majesty's Opposition, a miserable stooge for British imperialism. But has the social-democracy learned anything? They are again enthusiastically building up the old coalition under the mask of the new Comintern-varnished Popular Front.

The Russian revolution gave humanity its first glimpse of the workers' state. Neither its course nor its problems could have been charted in advance. Nor is there any gainsaying that its latter-day developments have had a profoundly depressing effect on the revolutionary movement. Stalin's crimes have served to throw discredit on the proletarian dictatorship and his Popular Frontism to prop up bourgeois democracy. But those who shrink from the proletarian revolution must ask themselves whether they will not be rejecting civilization itself because of its evil accompaniments.

The Great French Revolution was followed by the intellectual rehabilitation of Catholicism, Voltaire and Rousseau by De Maistre and Bonald. But who will deny that the struggle for bourgeois democracy, for free trade as well as parliamentarism, was once progressive? Nobody wants to idealize suffering or want. But imperialism and war and economic collapse are a harsh school of political manners and social morals. Ours is simply not an epoch of peace and tranquillity. It is as definitely an epoch of upheaval as the Reformation. Individuals can still find peace but not the masses. The revolution will offend the spirit of John Stuart Mill more than once. The issue of destiny is acquiescence with the course of the imperialists or, with all its hazards—the proletarian revolution. The revolution is not a streamlined Pullman to Utopia but the only, if thorny, road along which all mankind can reach freedom.

Maurice SPECTOR

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The Record of the Democracies

THAT THE FASCIST POWERS worship what Goethe called the inseparable trinity of war trade and piracy is plain as a pikestaff. They wreak their imperialist violence on Ethiopia, Spain and Austria. They pile up super-arms for the day of Armegeddon. They are the enemies of human civilization and harbingers of a new barbarism. All this and more the liberal and Stalinist press pound into us incessantly and it is true enough. But what follows? That we reverently thrill to the sermons of Cordell Hull and march with the New York *Times* in a crusade for collective security? That we range ourselves with "the great law-abiding, liberty-loving powers"? But who are these Great Democracies, these bulwarks of our liberties, guardians of world peace and repositories of civilization? One glance is sufficient to disclose our old friends, the Allied and Associated Powers who saved Democracy from 1914 to 1918.

The opening sentence of a 5-volume history* of the Versailles Peace Conference reads as follows: "The war was a conflict between the principles of moral influence and material force, of government by consent and government by compulsion." Our favorite whited sepulchre, H. G. Wells, wrote, "We fight because a whole nation has become obsessed by pride, by the cant of cynicism and the vanity of violence, by the evil suggestion of such third-rate writers as Gobineau and Stewart Chamberlain, that they were a people of peculiar excellence, destined to dominate the earth. . . ." Said Premier Asquith, "The purpose of the Allies in this war is to pave the way for an international system which will secure the principle of equal rights for all civilized states." England would not sheathe the sword "until the rights of the small nationalities are placed upon an unassailable foundation." Woodrow Wilson issued a proclamation of the signing of the Armistice in which he declared, "Everything for which America fought has been accomplished. It will now be our fortunate duty to assist by example, by sober friendly counsel, and by material aid, in the establishment of just democracy throughout the world."

Now that Bernhardi and Treitschke were cast down and Grotius and the sanctity of treaties exalted, what did the democratic Peace of Paris look like? Pretty much as the terms of the Secret Treaties

*Published under the auspices of the Institute of International Affairs.

regarding the future peace settlement had laid down. In 1915 the Allies secretly supplemented their lofty aspirations by inducements of a more substantial character. Tsarist Russia was promised Constantinople and all of Poland. France was to recover Alsace Lorraine and be given control of all German territory as far as the Rhine, and Great Britain should appropriate the bulk of the German colonies. Italy in 1915, and Roumania in 1916 were both promised territorial aggrandizement. In 1916 Russia was secretly awarded Central and Northern Armenia and lands south of the Black Sea; France was given the sovereignty over Southern Armenia, Cilicia and the Syrian coast, with Damascus and Mosul as a sphere of influence. Mesopotamia was reserved for Great Britain. A year later Italy was promised the southern half of Anatolia. (Smyrna was simultaneously pledged to Italy and Greece!) Though China too had entered the war on the side of the Allies, Japan was to have the forcibly-leased German Chinese port of Kiaouchau.

The peace treaty deprived Germany of two-thirds of her iron, 26% of her coal, 13% of her territory, 7% of her population, 40% of her blast furnaces, 30% of her steel mills, 28% of her rolling mills, and a million square miles of her colonies. To the protesting Germans the Allies virtuously explained that it was all being done for the good of the natives. "Germany's dereliction in the sphere of colonial civilization has been revealed too clearly to admit of the Allied and Associated Powers consenting to make a second experiment of their assuming the responsibility of again abandoning 13 or 14 million natives to a fate from which the war has delivered them." The colonies were thus assigned to those more humane and experienced in the art of their administration. England saw her duty and accepted the extra load to her White Man's Burden without demur.

2.

In 1914 England ruled over an empire of 12 million square miles, one quarter of the inhabitable surface of the globe, and of which area she herself constituted less than one hundredth part. The possessing class of one-tenth of the population of this empire dominated 370 million natives of India, 50 million natives of Africa, and millions of Malay, Polynesian and Chinese natives. To this overseas empire Britain now added Mesopotamia, Trans-Jordania, Palestine, the German colonies of East Africa and Southwest Africa, as well as parts of the Kamerun and Togoland. The British Empire now controls half the world's annual production of gold, a third of the coal, a fourth of the cotton, a fifth of the wheat and a sixth of the pig-iron. British capitalist investments of 20 billion dollars abroad netted the governing classes a return of 1 billion dollars a year. The "Blessed Isle" had indeed won the war. German competition was destroyed and England dominated trade from Cairo to Singapore.

Occasionally the natives, for whose welfare she is a trustee, doubt England's democracy and there is trouble. Concentration camps have to be set up in India, and the extremes of the massacre of Amritzar may become necessary to restore the natives to a mood of coöperation. The "pacification" of the Indian Northwest Frontier keeps thousands of British troops constantly engaged. In 1927 the Chinese went on a rampage against British extra-territorial rights and Great Britain was compelled to dispatch an expeditionary force. The Arabs take violent exception to the British Zionist policy in Palestine, and it becomes necessary to stamp out terrorism by burning their villages wholesale. But enough has been said, perhaps, to demonstrate the high moral difference between British occupation of Egypt and the brutal Japanese conquest of Manchuria. To confuse these would be tantamount to missing the fine ethical distinction between Italian ambitions to replace France in Tunisia and France's replacement of Turkey in Algiers. What Britain finds unpardonable is the utter disregard that Japan and Italy have manifested for the sanctity of treaties.

She can never condone a breach of faith. For example, in 1897 Lord Salisbury who suspected that a Belgian syndicate had obtained a concession for building a railway from Peking to Hankow, directed the British Minister to inform the Chinese that Her Majesty's Government had been badly treated. "Unless they agree at once (to employ British capital) we shall regard their breach of faith concerning the Peking-Hankow Railway as an act of deliberate hostility against this country and shall act accordingly. After consultation with the Admiral you may give them the number of days or hours you think proper within which to send their reply."

The status quo created by the Treaty of Versailles was naturally a beautiful thing for the imperialist states satisfied with their holdings. The present territorial distribution of markets, colonies and raw materials was declared virtually sacrosanct and boundaries were treated as immutable. Having destroyed German competition, Great Britain however finds herself menaced anew. Japan in the east and Italy in the Mediterranean give the City sleepless nights. With almost a billion dollars of British capital invested in China, with Hong Kong, Singapore, the East Indies and Australasia to defend, there is every reason for the British government to express abhorrence of those who violate the sanctity of treaties. The Ethiopian crisis sent Britain into a paroxysm of idealism over the League covenant, with what results are generally known. The conquest of Ethiopia, like the present Japanese occupation of China, places England before accomplished facts and negotiations are proceeding on both fronts for a deal at the expense of the colonial populations, with democracy having nothing to do with it.

3.

The other great beneficiary of the Versailles Peace was the French Republic. With an area of 212,659 square miles, and a population of 42,900,000, France exploits African colonies with an area of 3,894,727 square miles, and a native population of 38,668,000, including Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, part of West Africa, Equatorial Africa, Madagascar, parts of former German Togoland and Kamerun Colonies. Her Asiatic Empire comprises the five provinces of French-Indo-China, and Syria and Lebanon, a total area of 331,050 square miles with a native population of 25,660,000. Here too the natives are singularly lacking in appreciation of the benefits of French democracy, whether it is of the National Union or the Popular Front variety. Again and again French troops have had to put down popular uprisings in Syria, Morocco and Algiers.

The restoration of Alsace-Lorraine and the control of the Saar gave France the illusion that the old equilibrium having been displaced, she could replace it with her own diplomatic and military hegemony. To this end she built up an elaborate system of post-war alliances with the other beneficiaries of the new distribution of power, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Roumania. But the base for long-range French hegemony on the continent was too narrow. The center of world economic gravity had shifted to the United States and France never was in a position to organize European economy. On the contrary, her post-war authority depended on the chaos brought about by the Balkanization of Europe. Every move of French imperialism against Germany from the imposition of the impossible reparations to the occupation of the Ruhr merely accentuated the antagonisms and the crisis. French security was built on sand. The world-wide economic crash finally blasted away the foundations of French hegemony.

As a result of French policy the foundations of bourgeois democracy in post-war Germany were also blasted away, but at no time were the Allies concerned about preserving European "democracy". England was interested in the restoration of Germany's industry so far as it was necessary for the stability of British markets, and the extraction of a reasonable amount of reparations. She was equally concerned about maintaining the

balance of power, since that has always been the aim of Downing Street. The British government, therefore, viewed Hitler's advent with some satisfaction as a means of holding French ambitions in check. France was interested chiefly in keeping Germany in a state of perpetual subordination. Neither of the two victorious Democracies were motivated by any other than imperialist considerations. Although the Weimar Republic had suppressed the uprising of the revolutionary Spartacists in blood, it never was for that reason treated other than as a potential imperialist rival. When the Cuno government attempted to evade reparations payments France occupied the Ruhr regardless of what revolutionary situation might ensue. The German middle class was wrecked and in default of proletarian action became ripe for the Hitler *coup d'etat*. French financial coercion of Austria, when the Bruening government tried to evade the prohibition of Anchluss by framing the Austro-German Tariff Union Pact, helped pave the way for the crash of 1931 in the Reich. It could not be otherwise. The notion that England or France are animated by concern for democracy is fantastic. The imperialist power which only yields a dominion government to Ireland in bloody civil war, and the imperialist power which suppresses the colonial populations of Indo-China, can hardly be expected to foster either genuine democracy or self-determination. The League of Nations was what Lenin called it, "a den of thieves".

4.

One of the most revealing chapters in the record of the Great Democracies was their attempt to strangle the Russian Revolution. Allied intervention in Soviet Russia began in March 1918. The Czechoslovaks were organized. Allied Expeditionary Forces landed at Murmansk and Vladivostock. White Guard revolts were incited. Lloyd George and Winston Churchill strained every nerve and expended huge sums to foment counter revolution in the Caucasus in order to gain possession of its oil. Wilson sent an expedition to the Archangel on his own hook. The end of Allied military support witnessed the collapse of the counter revolution and the anti-Bolshevik uprisings. Yudenitch was driven out of the Baltic area, Denikin was expelled from Southern Russia, and Kolchak collapsed in Siberia. But the famous French democracy continued nevertheless in its efforts to destroy the Soviet Republic. Poland was encouraged in her territorial ambitions and Wrangel was subsidized to renew the struggle in Southern Russia. That counter revolution did not triumph was due only to the heroic resistance of the Russian workers and peasants.

5.

Something should be said about the rôle of the third Great Democracy. No one has expressed it more succinctly than Harold G. Knowles, formerly American Ambassador to Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic and Bolivia. "We have been guilty of violating the sovereign rights of neighbors and proceeding contrary to universally recognized principles of international law. We have imposed our force upon weak people, and defenceless countries, and slaughtered thousands of her citizens. We have attacked them when they expected we would defend them." The Monroe Doctrine sets the United States up as the imperialist guardian of South America. Monroe's own formulation has been adapted to the requirements of modern imperialism until it means the right of the United States to declare which is the constitutional party in the event of a revolution in Latin America (1912 first intervention in Nicaragua), and to take over political and economic control as in Haiti in 1915 when the United States reaches the conclusion that the Latin America country is unable to maintain law and order. It is applied to enforce and secure the cancellation of public debts, as in the case of Santo Domingo 1916, and it has been applied when revolutionary ideas are conceived to endanger

the private interests of American capitalists (Nicaragua and Mexico).

The same Wilson who was to utter his solemn platitudes about self-determination ordered the bombardment of Vera Cruz when Huerta failed to salute the United States flag by way of reparation for an alleged insult. Vera Cruz was captured by United States forces and occupied for several months. That was in 1914. Two years later a punitive expedition was dispatched to capture Villa. They didn't capture Villa but they spent about $130,000,000 trying to.

During the Great Depression there was an apparent retreat from Dollar imperialism. Roosevelt proclaimed his good neighbor policy. Thus the Hawes-Cutting bill of January 1933, and the Tydings-McDuffie bill of March 1934 provided independence for the Philippines after a ten year period. In March 1930 the J. Reuben Clark memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine reiterated that it would not be used to justify intervention in Latin America. In 1934 a new treaty abrogated the Platt Amendment Treaty of May 1903, abolishing all United States rights of intervention or of military and fiscal control in Cuba. Haiti was relinquished by executive agreement in 1933, and the Marines withdrew from Nicaragua the same year. But at no time has there been any real surrender of United States strategic, political or financial interests. The principal motive behind these concessions was the desire to retain the good-will of the Latin American countries and restore shrinking markets for American exports. Cordell Hull explained the new dispensation in these words, "A new spirit inspired by the policy of the good neighbor was born at Montevideo. It was the spirit of the Golden Rule. . . . We must sell abroad more of our surpluses."

In the last few months American imperialism has resumed its aggressive attitude. The independence of the Philippines is being adjourned, reprisals are directed against Mexico for its oil nationalization policy, and the "utmost concern" is evinced by the State Department about the commercial relations of South American countries with the "Fascist Aggressors". As a measure of reprisal against the Mexican government's nationalization of the oil industry Roosevelt and Hull have decided to strike a blow at the very foundations of Mexican economy. Washington announces that the Silver-Purchase Scheme will be halted. Since metal constitutes 76% of Mexico's exports and provides 13% of her revenues, the meaning of the New Deal's policy towards Mexico is plain. It is the attempted imperialist coercion of a semi-colonial country to prevent her national self-determination, to dictate her domestic policies, sabotage her agrarian program and keep her workers in the U.S. owned oil industry on starvation wages. Washington stands solidly behind the rapacious American oil interests. The New Deal's velvet glove is a thin cover for the mailed fist of dollar diplomacy.

6.

It is nothing but a liberal myth that bourgeois democracy is somehow a guarantee of a pacific foreign policy. We have seen how little democracy there can be in the relations between the British ruling class and the Indian "native". Bourgeois democracy is founded in the economic exploitation of both the working classes and the colonial masses. "Pacifism", as Trotsky says, "stands on the same foundation as the theory of the harmony of social interests. The antagonisms between capitalist nations have the same economic roots as the antagonism between the classes." The theory of bourgeois democracy which is based on the assumption that government is the expression of the popular will implies that there is such a thing as "democratic control of international policy". The fact of the matter, of course, is that no department of the State is a closer preserve of the imperialist interests, the interests of the economically dominant class, than foreign policy. The stakes of diplomacy arise from the interests of the ruling class. The agrarian autocracy of Tzarist Russia ruled by the landed nobility

was territorially aggressive and so was the agrarian democracy of the United States before the Civil War. The Dutch commercial state of the 17th century and the English state of the 18th century were hungry for commodity markets. The industrialized capitalist states of the 20th century fight for investment markets, and monopolies in trade and finance.

The foreign policy of a country like Japan, or of the Fascist countries, is obviously free of control by democratic pressure. But it should be noted that in England foreign policy is equally free of "democratic control". The power to make war and peace is part of the prerogative of the Crown which Parliament has never taken away. Treaties are made without legislative consent. The House of Commons never even discussed the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907 before it was ratified by the Crown. Nor did the Commons ever have the chance to discuss the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1905. Everybody knows the familiar instance of the repeated assurances to Parliament in 1913-14 that England had no obligations to France until the outbreak of the war when Parliament was informed that the country was bound by the terms of the Entente Cordiale. While the power of the French President to declare a war is dependent upon the consent of parliament, the term war does not cover military expeditions against backward peoples, which permits the President to take in quite a lot of territory. Nor is there any obligation to submit alliances, arbitration treaties, etc. to Parliament. Neither the Treaty of Berlin 1878, nor the Franco-Russian Alliance 1891, were approved by the French Parliament before being ratified.

In the United States where the Presidential power to make treaties is subject to the consent of two-thirds of the Senate and the power to declare war rests with Congress, the Executive has nevertheless been able to evade these checks. If the United States is "attacked" the President may declare a blockade and permit acts of war without waiting for Congress. McKinley sent troops to China in 1900, Wilson sent troops to the Archangel in 1918, and Coolidge sent three warships to Honduras in 1923, all without authorization of Congress. As Commander in Chief of the military forces, the President has repeatedly intervened in Caribbean and Latin American countries upon his own authority. The President has a further device for evading restrictions imposed upon his treaty-making power. He may annex territory to the United States, make an armistice or negotiate a treaty by "Executive Agreement" such as Theodore Roosevelt negotiated with Santo Domingo, when the Senate balked.

More recent evidence of the disregard of the "will of the people" when the imperialist interests of the United States demands it, is furnished by Franklin Roosevelt's manipulation of the Neutrality Law and his aggressive formulation of a foreign policy that is the opposite of the "isolationism" implied in the popular support for the Ludlow Referendum. In an injured tone Secretary of State Hull recently asked: "What warrant is there in reason or in experience, for the assumption—which underlies such proposals as the plan for a popular referendum on the subject of declaring war—that the Chief Executive and the Congress will be at any time more eager and more likely to embark upon war than would be the general body of citizens to whom they are directly responsible? No President and no Congress have ever carried this country into war against the will of the people." Woodrow Wilson was elected on the slogan that he "kept us out of war", but on his re-election he plunged the country into the war on the side of the Allies. In the period of 1914-1917 United States trade with the Allies increased from 1½ billion to 4 billion dollars. By 1917 the United States had loaned the Allies 2 billion dollars. In 1917 Walter Hines Page, U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain, sent the following confidential message to Wilson: "Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our present pre-eminent trade position can be maintained and a panic averted." So we went to war.

All the sermonizing in the world cannot obliterate the fundamental fact that the "crisis of democracy" derives from the decay of capitalism. Consider such a thing as the evaporation of the famous Spirit of Locarno. Signed in the Autumn of 1925 the accords of Locarno adjourned all territorial disputes arising from the Treaty of Versailles. Germany renounced the purpose of recovering her lost provinces. Great Britain and Italy guaranteed the status quo at the Rhine against either French or German aggression. Germany entered the League of Nations. To bourgeois pacifists it looked for a moment as if the terrors of the Versailles Peace and the occupation of the Ruhr were to be dissipated. But the "appeasement" of the Germans that followed proved illusory. The temporary German prosperity of the period was based not on a real development of industry or commerce, but on American and British loans with which to pay reparations and purchase essential raw materials abroad. With the crash in the United States and the end of American and British loans, the economic life of the Reich collapsed again. This also was the end of the Stresemann policy which had worked on the assumption that if Germany loyally accepted the terms of the Versailles Treaty she would be able to recover material prosperity along with her former enemies. German capitalism in fact had only adopted the Stresemann idea as a stop-gap; its revenge for the bankruptcy of Stresemannism took the form of Hitlerism.

German collapse was of course due to the Versailles Peace in part only. Versailles intensified all contradictions of capitalist imperialism by creating eleven new national states, with eleven new national frontiers. In their own way the international bankers saw this when in 1926 in convention in London they declared, "It is difficult to view without dismay the extent to which tariff barriers, special licenses and prohibitions since the war have been allowed to interfere with international trade and to prevent it from flowing in its natural channels. . . . One state lost its supplies of cheap food, another its supplies of cheap manufacturers, industry suffered from want of coal, factories for want of raw materials. Prices have risen, artificial dearness has been created. Production as a whole has been diminished, credit has been contracted, and currencies have depreciated. . . ." Or as Trotsky once put it, far more concisely, "Imperialism is the predatory expression of the tendency of modern industry to tear itself completely away from the stupidity of national narrowness, as it did formerly with regard to local and provincial confinement." The mere restoration of the old German frontiers would not have solved the crisis materially. The cause of the crisis was that the productive forces in Germany were potentially geared for the frontiers of the world market. The real and permanent solution of the crisis lay therefore in the political and economic union of Europe without state barriers, without strangling tariffs, and without armaments. But such a United States of Europe is only conceivable under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and despite the urgent revolutionary situations of 1918, 1923 and 1933, the German proletariat under its social democratic and Stalinist leadership failed to take revolutionary action. The initiative thereupon passed into the hands of Fascism and neo-German imperialism.

The inglorious liquidation of bourgeois democracy in Germany points the roads-end of popular frontism in France, Spain and wherever it is tried. Whatever its form, Catholic-social-democratic-liberal coalition, socialist-communist-radical-Popular Front, Labor-Government or New Deal—bourgeois democracy in the epoch of its imperialist transformation, is utterly incapable of maintaining the social equilibrium nationally or internationally. It is profoundly true and attested by every fresh experience since 1914 that humanity faces the alternatives either of slaughter under imperialism or peace through the Revolution in Permanence. The futility of the bourgeois peace societies lies in the fact that though frequently aware of the economic reasons for imperialism they

propose solutions that are impossible without social revolution. What they ask is the voluntary, self-liquidation of capitalism. Thus they suggest that trade restrictions should be done away with, that embargoes on exports should be lifted, that monopolies should be abolished, that international cartels should be dissolved, that all people should have equal access to raw materials, that tariffs should be reduced, the standards of living raised, and the world disarm. But how all this is to be done without waging war on capitalism is a mystery.

The war against Fascism can only be waged as a class war against imperialism. Between the Fascist and the so-called democratic powers the real antagonism is not of "ideologies" or the political régimes, but of markets, colonies and raw materials. The idea of England or France or the United States waging a war for democracy as a political ideal is nonsense. As well have expected the Russian bourgeoisie to initiate the bourgeois revolution. The foreign policy of the Popular Front is a sheer caricature of Jacobinism. Marx supported Germany against France in 1870 and the north against the south in the American Civil War, but he did so on the basis of the then existing class relations. He was supporting an aggressive capitalism against a decaying feudal order. In the war against feudalism, Marx saw a way to the victory of democracy as the prerequisite for the victory of the working class movement. The reformists tried to exploit Marx' position of that time in order to justify their own support of the rival imperialisms of 1914. But the imperialist transformation of democracy already accomplished in 1914 carries with it today, the Fascist transformation of the bourgeoisie.

The war against Fascism can be waged successfully only as a revolutionary war. Such a war would have been justified in 1923 when the revolutionary crisis was maturing in Germany, the country was splitting up into two armed camps, and the Red army was on the alert in the Soviet Union. Had the German workers fought Hitler in 1933, and had the military forces of the Soviet Union not been weakened by Stalin's economic adventurism, mobilization of the Red army against German Fascism, and the revolutionary war in coöperation with the German proletariat would have been in order. But that is not the kind of war that the advocates of Collective Security, and of the "peace-loving" nations against the aggressor nations, have in mind. In the United States the last war produced 21,000 new millionaires, one for every five American doughboys killed. The proletariat of the Fascist and "democratic" countries equally must proclaim Karl Liebknecht's slogan, "The enemy is within your own country"!

Maurice SPECTOR

The Collapse of the New Deal

FIVE YEARS HAVE passed since the inauguration of the New Deal and what is the celebrated State of the Union? The level of industrial production in March of this year stood at 37 per cent below last year's. Production plunged from 1929 to 1933 levels, in the brief span of a single year, a feat the Hoover Administration took three years to chalk up. Quoted stock values on the New York Stock Exchange were reduced by $27,000,000,000 in the course of a year. Steel is working at 30 per cent capacity. The purchasing power of the farm dollar is 25 per cent less than a year ago. The ranks of the unemployed have swollen to thirteen million. All in all, it would seem, a singularly inappropriate moment for the *Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* to appear! The five volumes successively bear these titles: *The Genesis of the New Deal, 1928-1932; the Year of the Crisis, 1933; The Advance of Recovery and Reform, 1934; The Court Disapproves, 1935; The People Approve, 1936.* The conclusive sequel to this apotheosis was furnished rudely and without permission of the Brain Trust, by history in 1937.

The precipitous economic decline is relegating the myth of the New Deal to a place alongside its predecessor, the illusion of the New Era (1923-29). The economic millenium of Harding and Coolidge seems now pre-glacially remote. But dewy-eyed pilgrims from the European social-democracy once came questing to those shores for the secret of eternal prosperity. The installment plan promised to go on world without end, the nearest thing under capitalism to the just-pluck-yourself-a-banana economy of the South Sea islands. The supply of American heiresses for noble transatlantic studs loomed as inexhaustible. The learned professors proclaimed the permanent annulment of the business cycle. Poor Marx was triumphantly demolished as a sour German Jew, an exploded Hegelian, or charitably, as another eminent Victorian. It was the Golden Age, Peterkin, and a man named Lovestone explained it as "American exceptionalism". At the Moscow Congresses of the Comintern, the American communist delegates basked in the reflected glory of their bourgeoisie, masochistically proud of the strength of American imperialism.

Until there came a day in the chill autumn of 1929, when leaves were sere and pedestrians trod warily to avoid colliding with brokers leaping from the topmost flights of Wall Street skyscrapers. American capitalism crashed. While the extreme left of society had been predicting this in a general and routine way for years, the actual event found them perhaps no less incredulous and unready than the Union League Club. In the momentous period of 1929-1932, wages sank 60 per cent, salaries dropped 40 per cent, and dividends 57 per cent. Industrial paralysis created an army of 15,000,000 unemployed and 30,000,000 people were thrown on private or public charity.

The "Roosevelt Revolution"

Whatever difficulties historians may have assessing Roosevelt's place in history, there can be no doubt that he did manage for a time to salvage capitalism. On the morning of his inauguration,

the entire banking structure of the country had broken down and the masses were on the verge of hunger revolts. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which Roosevelt inherited from Hoover, took over the functions of Wall Street, pumping billions of dollars into every kind of financial and industrial enterprise, railroads, banks, insurance companies. By the close of 1934 there were 25,000,000 on relief. The country was put on a colossal dole.

In 1934 steel-rail production was 1,008,000 tons as against 408,000 in 1933. But of the 600,000 ton increase, the government lent the railroads the cash with which to buy 425,000 tons. "The steel industry, the automobile industry, every industry that has been boasting about its better business in 1934 got that better business out of Federal funds paid out to its customers," wrote John T. Flynn. "These industries are on the dole. . . . Their employees are on the dole. . . . The stockholders who have been getting the rising dividends and the bondholders who have been getting their continuing interest are on the dole too."

But the "Roosevelt Revolution" claimed more than that it had put America on relief. It promised that it would plan reform and recovery. "Yes," boasted Roosevelt in his Charleston speech in 1935, "we are on our way back, not just by pure chance, my friends, not just by a turn of the wheel, of the cycle. We are coming back more soundly than ever because we are planning it that way, and don't let anybody tell you differently." The nature of New Deal planning was quickly established. It was an attempt to curb the productive forces, by restriction of output and subsidizing scarcity. It was organized sabotage for the purpose of creating an artificial shortage. The Agricultural Adjustment Act was essentially a measure to restrict farm output. The N.R.A. swept aside the obstacles of the anti-trust laws.

Big Business was not originally averse to "planning" and actually took a big hand in framing the N.R.A. In 1932 industry had suffered losses of probably not less than $8,000,000,000 and was thoroughly panic-stricken. In reply to a questionnaire of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce in 1932, ninety per cent of the replies declared in favor of economic planning. The Chamber wanted to eliminate "the evils of unrestricted competition", modify the anti-trust laws, and regulate wages and hours by trade associations under N.R.A. supervision instead of by statute. Big Business wrote the codes. Stabilizing industry meant stabilizing its largest units. Monopoly profits rose. Big Business was perfectly willing to accept all the state subsidies, loans and guarantees necessary. It had no objection to H.O.L.C. and the various farm credit instruments where the government took the risk and secured the mortgage-holder, the banks and insurance companies. 1435 manufacturing and trading companies quickly increased their net profits from $640,000,000 in 1933 to $1,051,000,000 in 1934, or 64 per cent. But once profits were restored Big Business demanded an end to government encroachment, a return to untramelled exploitation.

The New Deal is primarily a petty-bourgeois attempt to rescue capitalism by the methods of social reformism. If the present

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Stalinist effort to mobilize the masses in support of the New Deal is treacherous, no less false was their first characterization of the New Deal as fascist. Certainly the New Deal contains elements common to all capitalist state-planning and Roosevelt represents the Wall Street bankers in the general sense that he aims to preserve capitalist property. But it must be remembered that the social-democracy at different times also attempted to "control" capitalism by these methods. Examples are available from the experience of Australia, Sweden and other countries. Essentially based on the demands of the middle classes for reform, security and control of the natural resources, and with the organized labor movement in tow, the New Deal is the American equivalent of the Popular Front, social reformism *sans* a social-democracy. Section 7a of the statute requiring the codes to grant labor the right to organize and bargain collectively was conceived as a counterweight to Big Business.

The same fate which has overtaken social-democratic coalitionism, labor governments and Popular Fronts has caught up with the New Deal. Economic planning without attacking the profit system itself, must either lead to the iron rule of the monopolies, or create greater disproportions and chaos. Planned economy on a socialist basis involves creating a balance between production and consumption on an ascending scale by control of investment. It would mean control of production and prices, consumption, wages, profits, and income, of the output of capital goods and consumption goods, capital accumulation and investment, of agriculture and industry. The New Deal could prime the pump but could not control the flow of investment, a control impossible without abolishing capital claims and profits. Tugwell, Berle, Frankfurter and the other Brains thought they could have planned economy without the messiness of revolution. While capitalism was still licking its wounds, they would sneak up behind and before it could say Robinson, they would knock it senseless into a managed economy. That a change of property relations, of ownership was necessary was in Berle's view a Marxist prejudice. Under the corporate system, he contended, ownership didn't count—it was too dispersed. Management exercised control over production. Therefore it was easier to make demands on this "control group" than to put a government machine in place of it. Damn clever these Harvard boys!

Recovery—Diminuendo

The short-lived New Deal recovery proved an illusion. The Roosevelt Administration spent $20,000,000,000 trying to pull capitalism up by its bootstraps. "It has actually spent more money in five years," moans the *New York Times*, "than was spent in the aggregate by all the administrations that have governed this country from the days of George Washington to the days of Woodrow Wilson. . . . Yet the business of the country has been subnormal three-fourths of the time." The fact of the matter is that there never was any recovery in the sense of an expansion of capital. There was a restoration of profits and a temporary stabilization at a lower level. In the past, capitalist prosperity depended upon the increasing output and absorption of capital goods; under the New Deal capital secured its profits by restriction. The New Dealers were no doubt equally aware that normal recovery starts from an increase in private investment but it was hoped that after government spending had sown the seed of the upswing, increased demand from private sources would replace pump-priming—and so make an honest woman out of the recovery. But when government expenditures were cut in the hope of balancing the budget, the upswing stopped dead. Private capital failed to "take up the slack".

Every depression before 1929 had ended with a recovery that carried economic activity to a point above the pre-depression

level. Crises were once a means of actually advancing capitalist production. But when the Roosevelt recession set in, production was still ten per cent short of the 1929 level. The most striking feature of the present crisis has been the complete stoppage of industrial development. There is no parallel for this in American economic history. New Deal expenditures served to prop up the sagging foundations of capitalism but not to restore its progressive economic force. Formerly capitalism surmounted its crises and restored prosperity because of increasing opportunities for accumulation. Today the productive forces are already too highly developed for the fetters of the wage system. The Brookings study showed there was an unused capacity to produce goods of over 20 percent in 1929 and yet 20,000,000 families had incomes below $2,000. But unused capacity exists under capitalism because its use is unprofitable. Most important fact of all is that the New Deal could not solve the crisis for the simple reason that its roots are international. The loss of foreign trade is directly bound up with the world crisis. Recovery in the case of the United States, as of every other nation, depends upon the restoration of markets for normal export trade, and this prospect is more remote than ever. Every capitalist State is placing increasing obstacles to the international division of labor and trade expansion. Since the end of the World War there has been simultaneously a great increase in the process of industrialization and of barriers to economic intercourse. Incessant economic warfare has been waged since the armistice, a warfare that is now rapidly turning to military means for the solution of the world market problem.

The Social Crisis

The American crisis is thus no longer merely a cyclical fluctuation but a state of decline, ruling out all prospects of a new period of genuine expansion or durable stability. It is a social crisis, a crisis of the social order itself, involving all classes, and every aspect of economic activity. The present depression is a stage in the development of this permanent crisis in the economic and social relations of American capitalism. This by no means excludes the possibility of a revival but one brief and fitful, on a lower level, and yielding to a fresh catastrophe and more grinding depression. What is the last wisdom of the New Dealers in the face of the most recent slump? Precisely the same program of pump-priming that has already failed and is at most a form of relief, chiefly a matter of P.W.A. lending and granting activities. Paul Y. Anderson, a friend of the Administration comments: "The country will be fortunate if half this sum [the new P.W.A appropriation of $1,465,000,000] is spent by this time next year. The amount is too small to have a decisive effect on the national economy." Even if industrial production were again to rise to the 1929 level, we have Harry Hopkins' assurance that the number of the unemployed would remain between six and a half and seven and a half million. The increasing rise in the workers' output means their progressive displacement in railroading, mining and manufacturing, a displacement that, in the absence of industrial expansion, tends to become absolute.

The development of the crisis through its various stages, recurring upswings and precipitous declines, must have a searing effect on the consciousness of the American masses. The revolutionary movement will not have to wait for success until the American workers' standard of living has reached the depths of the German or Italian. American Marxists have in general been overcautious in estimating the solidity and power of American capitalism. There is, of course, no justification for rushing to the conclusion that American capitalism can be knocked down with a feather. But there undoubtedly has been a tendency to overestimate its staying power and to be dazzled by its façade.

The masses themselves are evidencing less and less their old confidence in capitalism. Twenty-five million Americans have been on relief, millions more on other forms of government bounty. American farmers have been evicted and foreclosed, overturned milk trucks and battled the sheriff. The jobless have invaded and occupied the precincts of the legislatures. The ex-servicemen have marched on Washington. The middle classes, their security gone, have been in a state of ferment. The Townsend movement, the Epic movement, Share the Wealth movement, Father Coughlin, are all signs of a changing attitude towards capitalism. The American working class has staged the unprecedented wave of sit-down strikes, in violation of capitalist law and order. They have shown the most impressive ingenuity and militancy in struggle. All this vast radicalization is proceeding under conditions of world crisis and imperialist preparations for war.

There exists an undeniable gap between the objective revolutionary conditions and the political consciousness of the masses. How to help bridge that is the crucial problem of the revolutionary party. The older forms of revolutionary propaganda and agitation for the socialist goal combined with daily agitation for minimum demands realizable within the framework of capitalism, have been outlived. The proportion of the total wage bill to the total value of manufacturing output in the United States has been growing progressively smaller. During nine years only of this last third of a century do available records of the wages and cost of living of 22,000,000 employed workers show any marked improvement. During the whole period from 1890 to 1918, the index numbers of real earnings moved within a range of only eight points. Under the conditions of capitalist decline, with the

output of capital goods and capital accumulation moving downwards, unemployment and lower wages reduce still further the worker's share of the national wealth. If in the period of capitalist expansion the welfare of the masses lagged behind the development of the productive forces, today successful resistance to exploitation is impossible without coming into conflict with the barriers of capitalism. Even the struggle for the so-called immediate demands must take on the character of a struggle against the confines of capitalist law and order (sit-down).

The situation therefore demands that the revolutionary Marxists develop a program of revolutionary transitional demands which will at once impress the masses with their essential realism as an answer to their immediate requirements and at the same time present a revolutionary challenge to capitalism. The failure of the New Deal must lead to deeper ferment and disillusionment of the masses with half-way measures and mere reformism. In growing despair, the middle classes may become more receptive to the demagogy of fascism. The sharpening class struggle will undoubtedly lead capitalism to subsidize reactionary violence against trade union movement, crush strikes, and suppress civil liberties. The imperialist war preparations will likewise be used to fetter working class freedom of action. Nobody can foretell the exact speed of events, but nobody has the right, in view of the catastrophic developments of the American scene in the past two decades, to count on an even and gradualist course of the class struggle. The big, immediate task of the revolutionary Marxists, therefore, is to discover America.

Maurice SPECTOR

BOOKS

The English Worker

SEVEN SHIFTS. Edited by JACK COMMON. xi+271 pp. New York. E. P. Dutton. $2.50.

Seven English workingmen, some with writing ability, have here deferred the temptation to make romantic "proletarian novels" out of their work-life and simply recorded the daily grind and their feelings about it. Behind them is the inevitable editor who has selected the authors and the material confessedly to avoid "any propagandist line". There is a plasterer and a steel-worker from the Midlands, a blast-furnace stiff from the North, a stoker in a gas plant, a sweated London Jew trying to escape the wage racket by running a stall in a London market, a railway fireman who has never been workless, and an unemployed who has never had work.

The representation is lively but by no means broad. The editor promises a second volume to make up for the lack of women writers, but there is a notable absence also of a Scot or a Welshman—say, a Clyde-side shipbuilder or a Merthyr miner. Factually, of course, the book presents nothing that one English worker doesn't pick up from another in the course of daily fraternization at the local pubs, and politically its contributors either have nothing positive to say or haven't been allowed to say it. For workers in other countries *Seven Shifts* is nevertheless a revealing snapshot album of the English proletariat.

All seven belong to unions; in America that would still suggest editorial collusion; in England, as the plasterer says, membership is "a natural act". The plasterers have had one since 1832. At least two of the writers recognize that the present solidity of their unions is due more to a policy of conciliation than of struggle, so that most strikes must now be "unofficial". Less encouraging, but still typical, is the fact that each is still organized on a craft basis.

Pride of craft is, in fact, as strong in them as pride of class and the two feelings sometimes support, sometimes interfere with each other. The plasterer rightly boasts that no machine can yet replace the skill of his hand with a simple trowel but it's the bosses who can grin when he races with his mates to prove who's the best man, or when steel workers kid themselves into 50 hours overtime in a week out of a bravado of endurance, or a machinist works on, for the same reason, with a finger nail torn away. Class solidarity protects the railwayman whose fellows see him drinking on the job, but craft vanity ostracizes him if he stays sober and makes mistakes or if he doesn't occasionally beat the time-table in.

More potent to make them sweat is of course that universal spectre, fear of the sack. The plasterer, for all his hoary union, works under the shadow of a two-hour notice; the steel-man has had his bouts of unemployment and expects more. Just what they mean can be learned from the bitter Odyssey of Oxley, who has been looking for work since the War. "The staple diet of the unemployed is committees." When the Means Test has made sure you are naked of goods and relatives, it may allow you about $4 a week in exchange for digging holes and filling them in again (literally). If you are married you won't even be allowed to perform that sprightly labor; you will sit and rot with your family, physically just alive, mentally dying, industrially dead. A workless pal went fifteen years before developing persecution mania; some don't take so long to reach the asylum or the graveyard. Americans may read their own future here, once the advancing spear of the depression pricks the W.P.A. bubbles.

The American worker ought likewise to take warning rather than pride from the wage levels accepted by these seven as normal. Add a generous one-quarter to their figures, which will more than cover differences in living costs, and the English plasterer still clears less than $20 a week when working, and the railway firemen, on a crack passenger run, less than $25 for a steady seven days.

For this each must suffer the diseases of his occupation. The plasterer left his first job as doffer in a cotton-mill because he was being sweated down into a "human whippet"; now he suffers from chronic colds, bronchitis, and lime in the eyes. The hulking barrow-men in the blast furnaces grow misshapen from lifting too much; the feet of the fireman are being crippled by the torrid engine-plates.

On this subject the seven are naturally eloquent and for the most part they write with factualness and energy and slangy good humor, as workers do. But most of them fail to explain clearly the technique of their work, mainly because literary exposition is itself a technique, a craft which they have had little occasion or opportunity to learn. Instead there is much diffuseness, repetition, jargon, and a good deal of feeble literary wit characteristic rather of their Sunday newspapers than of their own pub-language. The editor tells us that two of the contributors have already published books; unfortunately it is not difficult to guess which two. Some of the other chapters cry out for an editor whose conscience is more literary and less political.

Above all, the book needs one good tough cockney bus-conductor to come out and confess actual membership in the Labour party and give his reasons for it. As it is, all seven whisper socialism and not one belongs anywhere, thanks to the editor's (and the publisher's?) distaste for "propaganda"; certainly more than one in every seven English proletarians is an adherent of some working-class party. Here the nearest to the doctrinaire is the plasterer, who is a potential sucker for the People's Front and a union of democracies to make something or other safe. But he says his "individualism" prevents him from "irksome" party membership. The unemployed man remembers learning some Marxism from a C.P. study class in 1920, but he concludes like a *New Statesman* editorialist with a despairing enquiry as to how both classes can be "wakened" to their evidently mutual "responsibilities". The socialist gas-worker expects to be pushed off at the boneyard, by accident, lay-off or old age, but in the meantime there's beer and—"well, that's a working lad's life anyway". Blumenfeld and his fellow costers sit bleakly, "incarcerated in a decaying market. . . . Outcasts too, waiting for the sun". The blast-furnaceman growls at the chiselers, including the parsons, but he still speaks confidently of Our Empire and doubtfully of women suffrage. Sure, he's a socialist too. The fireman knows he was led up the garden in the 1926 upheaval (he refers to it, excellently, as the *First* General Strike) and again by the L.P. in Parliament; he knows the labor aristocrat is still only "hired help", but he ends, like the others, waiting for the time when "we really are wanted" to help run things. The only one who gnaws free of the editorial mufflers is Stirling, the steel-man. He prophecies a revolution within a decade. "And the workers will take charge of it, and they will shape it the way they want to shape it. . . . I hope you will like it when it comes, damn your eyes."

For the lack of any voice from those who are actually trying to make this revolution, even in a nice peaceful Clement Attlee style, Editor Common bears responsibility. For other gaps in the record—for an almost complete obliviousness of anything outside the tight little isle, and for a drouth of any really good hating, any *saeva indignatio*, one can blame also an editor who is a propagandist for non-propaganda. But it is sadly true that not even Mr. Common is responsible for all of it. There is still something insidious about British imperialism, or British rains, or the fish-and-chip diet, which makes the average English worker learn socialism from his father's knee and yet continue to be fall-guys for both the *Daily Herald* and the multitudinous Royal Family.

E. ROBERTSON

Halting Progress

INTELLIGENT INDIVIDUAL AND
By P. W. BRIDGMAN. 305 pp. New Y
millan Co. $2.50.

The decline of a society is pa
marked by intellectual and mor
themselves expressions of the deep
terrible social crisis. The phys
comes painfully aware of the shor
of traditional physical ideas and
dology; the moralist hews under tr
morality to reveal its rotten core

Canada and World Politics

THE AMERICAN PRESS has maintained a picture of Canada as a vague snowy area to the north, sparsely populated by French-Canadian loggers, half-breed trappers, backward farmers, mounties, the Dionne quintuplets, and a few English colonials who, because of an unaccountable allegiance to King George, have not yet emigrated to the United States. So dependent are the Canadians on their neighbor's periodicals that they have come to share some of these illusions about themselves. The economic facts are somewhat different, though by no means less curious or unusual.

In the first place Canada is no longer an agricultural country, strictly speaking. Although she still leads the world in wheat exports, her agricultural production in 1936 was but 26% of the net production value; only one million people were engaged that year in farming, as compared with two and a half million wage- and salary-workers. Almost unnoticed by its self-occupied big brother, Canada has undergone a parallel industrial transformation. In 1871 all but 12% of Canada's population was rural; today 55% is urban.

It is true that most of the Dominion's enormous surface is still wilderness, or thinly settled under semi-frontier conditions, and that the total population of 11 million is fantastically tiny in comparison with America's 130 million in a slightly smaller area. But it is also a fact that five cities scattered along a 3000-mile line alone contain 2½ of those 11 millions. In Canada features of combined development are everywhere. Side by side with a continued primary exploitation of mines, timber, fisheries, and land, there exists an expanding series of highly developed and rationalized industrial centres and a corresponding migration from the soil. In the years between 1923 and 1930 (which include even the beginning of the depression and the virtual freeze-up of immigration) the industrial proletariat multiplied at the rate of 20,000 a year, and half of this increase was taken up by plants employing more than 500 workers.

Land of Monopolies

Another popular misconception, and here one which the Canadian capitalists do not attempt to dispel, is that, compared with the United States, Canada is less ridden with trusts, combines, and corporations. Actually, and again in line with the laws of combined development, the reverse is true. There is no other country in the world where finance capitalism is so centralized. The land of the maple is also the land of monopoly.

Banking is much more openly and legally concentrated in Canada than in the U.S. No local or even provincial concerns are permitted; the field is staked out by ten national companies whose total combined assets were listed in 1936 as 3¼ billions. Of this highly respectable sum, 81% is cornered by the four leading firms, (Montreal, Royal, Commerce, and Nova Scotia). The natural capitalist process of interlocking directorates within these combines has been both consecrated and stimulated by the creation of a "national" Bank of Canada, that is by a pooling of representative directors from the existing banks.

In sharp contrast to the U.S., Canada has not experienced a single bank failure throughout the depression. This does not indicate a superior healthiness in Canadian capitalism but simply that the banking system is so enmeshed with it that the two must stand or fall together. The Big Four among the banks hog, among other things, 75% of all trust-company and 50% of all insurance-company holdings. The extent of their immediate tie-up with mines and manufacture cannot be accurately estimated, but a study of the names on directors' boards alone would suggest that the banks own about 75% of Canadian industry.

These industrial octopi are in turn individually husky and yet amazingly entangled. Virtually all chemical, rubber, and munition products are the sinecure of one company, Canadian Chemical Industries Limited. Corresponding monopolies are vested in the Bell Telephone, The Steel Co. of Canada, and Canada Packers Ltd. Canadian syndicates of Ford and General Motors have grabbed auto production, while Shell and Imperial (*i.e.*, Standard) Oil divide the gasoline sales.

Most ubiquitous of all is the Canadian Pacific Railway Co.; larger of the two transcontinental railroads, it is owner also of fleets of transpacific, transatlantic, coastal and great lakes steamships, and of a national chain of expensive and rococo hotels. Clinging tight to the colossal boodle which it secured in the early railway speculation days, the C.P.R. continues to exploit a string of coal and metal mines throughout the Dominion, giant farms, timber and smelting outfits, and myriads of other concerns. It boasts quite truthfully of being the largest travel corporation in the world. Its only Canadian railroad rival is the government-owned Canadian National, a very sick white elephant whose absorption by the C.P.R. is hourly expected.

The most prosperous of Canadian industries, metal-mining, has also its little nest of trusts. International Nickel not only exports 75% of the world's supply of this basic war material but has corralled also 50% of Canadian copper, zinc, and lead. The enormously profitable and expanding gold-mining industry is not yet so unified, but it is reputed to have created a score of new Canadian millionaires, whose swag has necessarily been secured at the price of hook-ups with the Banking Big Four.

In Canada, as in America, five percent of the population squats on 90% of the wealth. America has its big Sixty Families, Canada its little Fifty.

Canadian "Imperialism"

Canadian capitalism is in fact so topheavy that its investments now spill over into other countries. Every Englishman is taught that Canada was salvaged from the commercial backwash of feudal France by the British Empire. Most Americans believe that Canada has been salvaged from the backwash of British imperialism by American investments and American culture. Both, in a sense, are right; but what both are being forced to recognize is that the mèsalliance of the two imperialisms in Canada has begot there a strange hybrid state which, at the same time that it remains a colony of both, also acts at times as if it were a little "imperial" power in itself. With no battleships and no marines to back its investments, Canadian capitalists nevertheless have been able, under the shadow of Britain and the U.S.A., to build up two billion dollars of investments abroad. Nearly half of this is sunk in the U.S.A. The rest makes its appearance mainly in the West Indies and South America but also in Europe and Asia. Branches of Canadian banks operate in the West Indies; subsidiaries of Canadian power trusts have fingers hooked in the public utilities of Mexico City, of Barcelona, Spain, and of Rio de Janeiro (Brazilian Traction) and other South American centres.

It may be said that such Canadian investments abroad, and such pyramiding of Canadian money-bags at home, are simply a form of book-keeping for British and American capital. This is, however, only a little more than a half truth. Canadian Ford Motors, for example, which not only manufactures Canadian Ford cars and airplanes but is the controlling centre for the company's factories throughout the British Empire, is actually organized with a majority ownership by Canadian investors. Nor is it easy to dismiss such phenomena with the explanation that

Canadian investors are themselves tied to international banking. That is also a half-truth. In 1934 British investments in Canada totalled slightly less than three billion dollars, and American investments four billions; other foreign stakes are negligible; yet the total of investments in the country was in that same year eighteen billion dollars. In other words, well over 60% of the profit-making concerns are owned by capitalists living in the country.

Unalterable geography, as well as the course of history, has predetermined the triumph of America. Each year's trade treaties reduce the preferences Canada gives Britain and increases the imports from the U.S. Yet the transition has been more prolonged and is economically farther from completion than the average American thinks. It was not until after the Great War that the U.S.A. was able to oust Britain as Canada's chief trader. As for investments, even today the United Kingdom has $2.80 in the Canadian egg-basket for every $4 American. The august House of Morgan must still scramble with Rothermere for control of the pulp and paper industry, and with Mond for the preemption of nickel. Du Pont and the British I.C.I. are battling fists in Canadian munitions; the oil monopoly remains a dispute between Deterding and Rockefeller. British finance continues to stand behind the C.P.R. and much of the country's banking.

Arrested Development of an Infant Prodigy

The Canadian intellectual may still prudently take flight to New York City for the benefit of his petty-bourgeois soul; but he is an extremely small cipher. A Canadian unemployed, still exposed to the whims of local relief systems, may look with some envy on the salary of W.P.A. workers, but he reads also of W.P.A. cuts and layoffs, and of an American unemployment total that is proportionately as high as in the country of his own capitalists. (Incidentally if he still wanted to take a chance on America there are always enough border officials to spot him and boot him back.) The employed worker sees the long-superior American wage-scale sinking to his own level and the prospects of work virtually nil. The general paralysis of capitalism prevents America from taking full advantage of Britain's failing grasp on her oldest possession. Despite the rich natural resources still to be tapped, the unexplored and metallic mountains in the north, the areas of arable yet unoccupied soil (still estimated at one-fifth of the total cultivable land), world capitalism is unable to complete the industrialization of the Dominion. Consequently Canadian workers, though scarcely intoxicated with the smallish grapes in their own backyard, have little impulse to hop the fence into the weedy marihuana preserves which the Sixty Families have made of the magnificent United States. Canada, the infant prodigy of combined development, is now, thanks to the incurable diseases of capitalism, only an adolescent with arrested development.

The Canadian worker is, of course, being gradually made aware that his struggle is bound up with that of the world proletariat and specifically with that of the American worker but he is learning that mere affiliation with a skate-ridden American trade-union is in itself no more progressive than affiliation to a skate-ridden Canadian one—and less easy to fight against. This is a fact which, however, in no way contradicts the ultimate perspective of American-Canadian organizational solidarity in the trade-union front.

The Cross-Eyes of Canadian Politics

Political life in Canada also reflects the strange and for the moment unresolvable duality of her dependence. There is no *avowed* pro-American Party and no *open* party of British imperialism (always excepting the Communist Party). For many years the Liberal Party was roughly representative of those less established interests (particularly industrial) which were backed by Wall Street as opposed to Threadneedle. Its mass basis was the western free-trade farmer, and the anti-British French-Canadian. But restored to federal power, the Liberal machine has walked the same tightrope as the Conservatives, playing off British interests against American in order to gain a *pourboire* from each. Reciprocity has never been anything but a political mirage, while *complete* freedom from the preferential tariffs of British imperialism is a thought to frighten even the most Americanized Toronto Babbitt.

The "Socialist" C.C.F. has in its five years of existence reflected the same national ambiguity, playing ball both with isolationism and with collective security. Because it is still a loose federation its followers are treated to the spectacle of its seven federal parliamentary representatives alternately supporting pacifism and the hypothetical wars of the League. At its latest national conference in July the pendulum, thanks to the sturdy pushing of a Stalinist fraction, has swung well over to collective security. But the new "policy" is still a typical Canadian (and social democratic) compromise. "We will support no war of British imperialism—but we feel that peace can best be guaranteed through collective security."

The Stalinites have the one virtue of shamelessness in this respect. So long as Moscow intones that Britain is a democratic nation, the Canadian Communist Party will bear aloft the tribal tomahawk with and for Britain. If the Empire should turn up on the opposite side to Russia . . . but enough of such counter-revolutionary "if's".

Nearest in its foreign policy to the Stalinites is the Conservative party, traditionally the manifestation in Canada of the Holy Ghost of the Bank of England. Yet even the Conservatives, though enjoying the irresponsibilities of their present job as the official federal opposition, are now infallibly cautious in their references to Empire wars and scarcely distinguishable from the Liberals in their phraseology. At their recent national shindig, at which the reactionary Manion was chosen leader to replace the doddering R. B. ("Iron-Heel") Bennett, the Conservatives, after much squabbling, approved a foreign policy which offered nothing more than "consultation and cooperation between all the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations". Where is the old automatic military heel-clicking for the Empire? *Où sont les neiges d'antan?* To muffle the tub-thumping still more, the Grand Old Party of Canada tacked on a "Ludlow Amendment", advocating a popular plebiscite before war is declared. Thus the diplomatic mummeries between the Old Parties and the Old Land barely manage to preserve the Imperial proprieties; in the act of crooking the pregnant Commonwealth knee before Chamberlain each Canadian party-leader cocks one eye at the nationalist sentiment and the other at Roosevelt.

For it is the shadow of the latter's State Department, much more than the annoyance of C.C.F. pacifist resolutions, which puts velvet into the bark of the English bull-pup on this side of the water—and England knows it. Sir Anthony Eden's *Yorkshire Post* editorialized with satisfaction on the spectacle early this summer of the Conservative Bennett and Liberal Premier MacKenzie King competing with each other in protestations of loyalty: "The tie of sentiment remains. The tie of blood grows weaker". But both Eden and Chamberlain know just how inadequate sentiment is to fight Britain's battles if the blood is not only too "weak" to wish to be shed but is connected with a heart located in Wall Street. The ink on the *Yorkshire Post* was scarcely dry when Premier King announced that whereas Canada was willing to increase its production of armaments for Britain (at a price), her own defense was to remain under "autonomous control".

Canada and Martial Self-Determination

Now for Canada to declare that she will look after her own defense is for a wren to open a threatening beak to a world of buzzards. It is a luxury of utterance only possible when the wren finds herself committed to a perch on the edge of the nest of the biggest and strongest buzzard of them all. That is exactly Canada's position.

For what will happen when Britain is once more at war? Theoretically Canada is "an independent Dominion within the British Commonwealth". Does that mean she has the "right" to label herself neutral if the United Kingdom is not? On that question, which agitates the bosoms of bourgeois nationalists and C.C.F. pacifists alike, both the Canadian and the British Parliaments remain portentously silent. The sister dominion of South Africa has already announced she will determine neutrality or belligerency for herself. There is nothing, of course, to stop the Canadian Parliament from passing a similar and equally vaporous decree—even Mackenzie King has said that she may. Actually, if Downing Street wishes, it can force belligerency upon Canada at the first shot of a British gun, by utilizing the power of the Governor-General-in-Council to recruit, *without the consent of Parliament,* an expeditionary army on Canadian soil. The Governor-General of Canada, nominally a figurehead, still exercises very real emergency powers in cooperation with his "Council" (that is, the Canadian Premier and his Cabinet). It should be remembered that the Governor-General is himself sent over hot from Britain as the symbol of George VI, King-Emperor, in Canada and that the formulations of the last Imperial Conference still laid down the the dominions "a common allegiance to the crown". It is on such considerations that foreign military alliances are made with Britain, that is with the understanding they are backed not merely by the 40 million of the British Isles but by the 400 million of the British Empire. Hence legislation of the Canadian Parliament having to do with foreign affairs is subject to veto by the Privy Council of England which has frequently exercised its "Supreme Court" function to check Ottawa (and to reduce the latter's authority over the various and jealous provinces within the Dominion).

Even if the Dominion's somewhat operatic legislature were permitted to make the gesture of declaring neutrality, international law—which exists in any case only in the minds of the bourgeois commentators—has no precedent to determine whether anyone would recognize the little folded hands of Canada. The deciding factor would certainly not be historical precedents, nor the ghostly League of Nations on which Canada has a nice seat all to herself, but the strategic wisdom, for the country at war with Britain, of an attack on Canada. If anti-imperialist sentiment were sufficient in Canada to force through a neutrality declaration (or if Washington's plans desired it) the United Kingdom might find it good policy to bow, but the declaration would not be worth the fabulous hoot in hell if Britain's opponent found that she could strike at the Empire through Canada. If Germany were the antagonist no doubt it would be to her advantage to respect Canada's declarations so long, of course, as she could continue to sink "peaceful" Canadian shipping en route with supplies for England. That such a procedure is totally consonant with neutrality was demonstrated for three years by the United States in the last war and for the past two years along the Spanish coast by the Motherland herself. If Britain were at grips with Japan, the case might be different. Even if Japan were Britain's sole enemy, which is highly improbable not to say impossible, the British navy would find it impossible to line the west coast of Canada whatever she might still do to blockade the Atlantic.

In all such theorizings it is obvious that the power which really barricades Canada is not herself nor Britain but the United States. Such a plain fact is of course never admitted in the diplomatic pronouncements of any one of these three countries. It is an actuality neither salving to Canada's national pride nor reassuring to her capitalists. In the first place no one knows whether Uncle Sam will line up on the same side as Britain. Kindred "democratic" traditions and Anglo-Saxon heritages are baubles compared with fundamental imperialist rivalries. The Canadian capitalists are fully aware that nothing on earth can prevent their military absorption by the United States once that country is at war with Britain. On the other hand, even if the two powers were allies, the price of Canada's protection might still be annexation, less rapid, less brutal, but yet, in the long run, annexation.

To such a perspective the Canadian working-class is naturally apathetic. There are of course some of the helpless unemployed who would accept any war in order to get steady pay again; and there are some middle-class Canadian limeys who are stupid enough to march off against even the United States at the drop of a general's hat. But the majority of even the Anglo-Saxon elements in Canada are willing to be absorbed any day if such a price is necessary for military protection. And finally there is a fairly solid bloc of French-Canadians, 28% of the total population, and 85% of that of Quebec Province, which resisted conscription in the last war and threatens to set up a separate (and probably fascist) "republic" the moment Canada is involved in another.

The Canadian Plutos can therefore never be free from worry. Small frogs as they are, annexation would plunge them into a very large puddle, populated by the crocodiles of American finance-capital. On the other hand, participation in an Empire War, even supposing the U.S.A. remained benevolently neutral, may lead this time to defeat, the crack-up of the Empire, and working-class revolt at home. But, again, *real* neutrality would mean the loss of the enormous war profits which Britain already holds out as bait. This is a *contretemps* which makes still more sinuous the course of Canadian politics. On one day McKenzie King soothes the pacifists and isolationists and the three million French-Canadians by declarations of military autonomy. On the next day he negotiates with the United States for the building of a $20,000,000 military highway from the western United States 1800 miles through Canada to Alaska. On the third day he signs agreements with the British air ministry for the development of huge bomber-plants, air-training schools, and munition-factories to supplement the British super-armament program.

The Armadillo and the Skunk

So much for Canadian "autonomy", which is simply running with the hare and hunting with the hounds—while the Canadian worker pays now in sweat, and later in blood, for the impossible game. Seventy million dollars has already been earmarked, in 1938-39, for the defense of a country which no one will harry who is not prepared also to invade the United States. For the Canadian bosses the expenditure is, of course, highly lucrative. It is not simply a matter of business for the local armament manufacturers. MacKenzie King has publicly reminded the whole boss class that arms are always handy, if for nothing else, to put down "insurrection" at home. Finally, it is no accident that Ottawa confesses it is about to build two mine-sweepers and to erect 130 searchlights with five-foot lenses on the west coast of British Columbia, at a cost of two millions, in the midst of the present trade negotiations between Canada and the U.S.

To be sure the recent agreements are threefold, involving Britain, (with Australia also seeking to slide in) but it is an open secret that Britain has failed in these manœuvres to wangle from Canada the promise of aid in war and even the opening up of Canadian immigration gates to that section of the British unemployed who are too enfeebled for war service and whom the Mother Land would like to dump into her favorite colony. (The

United Kingdom has a standing offer to finance British immigration to Canada; last year Canada allowed the importation of only 1573 Britishers; none of them was listed as unemployed.) It is the U.S. which gains when a fortification is created on the Canadian coast. True Britain is not sorry to see them for it is not excluded that she might conceivably (but not probably) be able to use them in a war against the U.S. *Fundamentally, behind every "protective" war outlay in Canada is Washington.* The projected Alaska Highway was first noted in the press as a little innocent scheme of British Columbia's to attract tourists; then there was gentle talk about financing part of the cost in the United States. This summer however Messrs. Farley, Ickes and Assistant-Secretary-of-War Johnson, all of Washington, made special personal trips to the area of the proposed highway; it is patent that the actual plan is the selling of a permanent military corridor through B.C. from the state of Washington to Alaska, with, as a natural corollary, military commitments of Canada to the U.S.

Among the other "autonomous" plans of Mr. King are the immediate construction of two destroyers, mechanization of the land force, fortifications of both coasts, and of Anticosti Island, strategically placed in the mouth of the St. Lawrence. These are the first layers of the armor plate which Yankee imperialism is forcing around Canada. America has not much need for Canada's Lilliputian army, but she does find it necessary for the Dominion to turn itself into an armadillo, a quiet fortress outlining the real boundaries of the U.S.A. in the coming war.

As a military animal, Canada however is not being permitted to remain merely a naïve young armadillo. Britain too has need of her, in the rôle of a secondary beast of prey, with weapons of offense. True, eleven million disunified colonials of questionable patriotism can never bite like the lion; but they can perhaps develop the claws of a cub and certainly manufacture gases as potent as any in the skunk world of modern militarism. That is why in 1938 we find Canadians again potentially offensive bipeds; *behind every offensive military preparation is Britain.* With the collapse of the Swinton air-armament program in England this spring (followed by cabinet expulsions and the scrapping of the shadow-factory system of bomber-manufacture) the British Air Chiefs have been scuttling around the world in a frantic attempt to conscript the economic resources of their not-so-communal Commonwealth.

It is not a new idea. In 1917 Britain was losing in Europe and perilously short of planes, pilots, and air mechanics at home. Canadian factories and training forces, far from the scene of air-raids, were hurriedly chucked together. The present scheme is much more ambitious. A complete census of Canadian plants adaptable to war production is being made, with the help of the Canadian Manufacturers Association and the Commercial Air Transport combines. Both are of course springing with alacrity to the salute, since a quarter of a *billion* dollars has already been forked out from the British war hope-chest to set the wheels rolling. Factories grinding out war machines are springing up like dragon's teeth in the industrial centres. One plant alone, in small Fort William, already shouts that it is ready to produce 1000 bombers annually. The result of all this, and of similar dickers between the U.K., the U.S.A., Australia, etc., is that Downing Street can intimidate or woo Mussolini (according to the momentary Mediterranean weather) with a guaranteed air production of 25,000 planes a year. To learn to operate the new Canadian and American baby-killers, amateur flyers in England are being enrolled in clubs and subsidized at £50 a head.

It is true that the MacKenzie King government is still dodging official British air-training schools on "autonomous" Canadian soil, but it is a patently temporary stall with the well-known cockeye aimed at the wistful isolationist temper of the country; it is a bluff which oozes away as the armament orders pour in and prosperity enwraps the Canadian Manufacturers Association. And again it must be emphasized that King stalls or moves, in the long run, only as America directs him. The skunk half of Canada's divided military personality is not nurtured by the U.S.—but it does not come about without her consent. It should be remembered that Canada's air assistance in the last war did not operate until 1917 when the U.S. had decided to enter as an ally; the first eleven American air-squads to be sent overseas were trained in just such Canadian schools. Exactly what military understanding exists between the U.K. and the U.S. over the present Canadian scheme is naturally uncommunicated to the mere masses, but the editorializings of the N. Y. *Times* on the subject may, with full allowance for customary idealistic verbiage, be profitably studied:

> "Although the question may be raised as to the effect of a strong air force, either British or Canadian, immediately across our northern border, it would seem, in view of the long tradition of peace between the U.S. and the Dominion, and the natural community of interest among the English-speaking people, that *such a force could be regarded as a further bulwark of our defense*" (July 25th, 1938; my emphasis).

In other words, let the un-United Kingdom propose; we, if necessary, will dispose.

Arsenal for the Coming Slaughter

In the meantime, the Canadian bourgeoisie rolls merrily on. It is true that the second depression which has been setting-in (as usual behind the tail of the American) affects an ever expanding majority of the people. Wage cuts continue while prices rise. Some needle-trade women workers in Montreal have been getting as low as five cents an hour. Probably one worker in every ten is unemployed. There is no federal relief system and single workless wander about the country, alternately striking and, literally, begging. Quebec trades unions and left political organizations are muzzled by the notorious Padlock Law, while Arcand's fascists multiply monthly and drill openly. Four out of every five farmers are in debt, and the average farm income is about $500 a year. But all this does not prevent International Nickel and Chemical Industries Ltd. from supplying death-food to the world. Canada now ships Japan 97% of that busy murderer's nickel, 90% of her copper, 75% of her aluminum; simultaneously International Nickel points with pride to a *net* profit for the first 6 months of the year of $16,732,251. (Last year it was even greater—$25 million.) Japanese gold is flowing in, even, according to recent Chinese claims, for advance purchase of some of the very bombers the flag-flapping Canadian Manufacturers Association is being subsidized to supply Britain. Canadian gold mines are booming; thanks to the smashing of the C.I.O. drive by Ontario's Premier Hepburn, they are virtually unorganized, and therefore daily more profitable for the Fifty Big Shots, their supernumeraries, and their backers in Wall Street and London.

In summary it may be said that Canada, already one of the chief producers of basic war metals, is now to be also one of the muddy fountainheads of the manufactured article, of bombs and bombers, guns, shells, tanks and gas. And her workers and farmers, however remote they feel beneath the Arctic and an ocean away from both immediate war areas, are being inevitably prepared for the job of transporting, using and succumbing to the devices of manslaughter, as well as of manufacturing them for the profit of international capitalism. Precisely where they will be called upon to use them and against whom rests, at present, secondarily with Britain and primarily with the U.S. The Canadian working-class will cease being puppets of both imperialisms only through a proletarian revolution whose victory, also, will depend greatly upon the revolutionary solidarity of their proletarian brothers in the states below the forty-ninth parallel.

E. ROBERTSON

Internationalism — Our Banner

By MAURICE SPECTOR

Co-Editor, New International

If there was one pillar of the early Comintern that seemed more unshakable than Gibraltar, it was its intransigent internationalism, its basic policy of world revolution. The Communist International was conceived during the world war in the course of the revolutionary struggle against social patriotism.

The collapse of the Second International was due to its opportunistic adaptation to the capitalist legality of the national state. To pillory the social patriotism of the Social Democracy, to attack its policy of coalition government, to denounce its fetishistic support of bourgeois democracy, its voting of military credits, all this was part of everyday communist agitation and propaganda. Whenever the international situation sharpened, the air resounded with Comintern pledges to work for the transformation of any imperialist war into a civil war.

Lenin's Teachings

Every communist knew that Lenin had drawn two decisive conclusions from the law of the irregularity of capitalist political and economic development: (1) that, contrary to the opinion of Kautsky, it was possible to begin the revolution in a single country, without waiting for the rest of the world, but (2) that it was impossible for a single country to achieve the victory of socialism without the advance of the frontiers of the revolution in the industrial West. There was no ambiguity about this.

Again and again he repeated that the existence of the Soviet republic alongside the imperialist states was in the long run impossible. One or the other would triumph. The big historical problem of the October revolution as he saw it, and as the entire Comintern appeared to agree, lay in resolving the international problem by means of stimulating and organizing the world revolution.

So long as the post-Leninist struggle inside the Russian Communist party proceeded on such apparently separate questions, as workers democracy, the lessons of the German communist failure of 1923, the experiences of the Anglo-Russian committee, and economic planning, many communists of the West, increasingly restive over the turn of events and the character of the Russian discussions, were still uncertain. In many cases it still seemed possible to reconcile the conflicting views within the framework of the same party and International. Loyalty to the Communist International permeated such militants to the core, and decisions would involve a rupture with what they had been accustomed to regard as "the General Staff of the World Revolution" were not taken lightly.

The Final Straw

What shook their faith in the post-Leninist Moscow leadership to the point where "loyal" acceptance of the majority thesis was no longer possible, was the final emergence of the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country." The stand that the Russian Opposition made against this revision of Leninism proved to be a stand against the Stalinist counter-revolution. There were friends of the Opposition who thought that Trotsky was unduly magnifying the issue and allowing himself to be outsmarted. The Brandler-Thalheimer group attempted to minimize the issue as academic. Even close sympathizers of Trotsky, reading his Critique of the Draft Program of the Comintern during the Sixth Congress (1928) wondered if its author was not anticipating too much and too readily.

Experience itself has established that the official adoption of the theory of socialism in a single country, a product of the ebb of the revolution in Europe, and the defeats administered to the working class, has become the fully rounded out formula of Stalinist social-patriotism and the degeneration of the Comintern.

Renunciation of Revolution

The tactics of the Leninist Comintern in a period of capitalist stabilization were necessarily different than in a period of stormy assault on the capitalist fortress during a revolutionary crisis. But the policy of Stalinist national socialism involved a renunciation of the proletarian revolution itself. Since the adoption of that policy the consequences for both the Soviet Union and the international proletariat have been increasingly tragic. What happened, objectively speaking, is that Stalin joined Hitler in crushing out the revolutionary spirit of the working class vanguard. Even their methods became indistinguishable.

With every retreat from the policy of world revolution, with every new improvisation of popular frontism, the advance of fascism became more rapid and more powerful. Fascism is today on the offensive. The Munich pact signals the complete bankruptcy of the whole edifice of collective security. The Popular Front is a shambles.

The Stalinists sold out the interests of the French working class for the sake of "the defense of the Soviet Union." Their "realism" has left the Soviet Union in a position of the greatest isolation. After absorbing Czechoslovakia, as he had absorbed Germany before that, thanks to the cowardly passivity of the Comintern, Hitler is now proceeding with plans for the political and economic hegemony of Europe and the future partition of the Soviet Union.

There Is No Substitute

It has been proved that the revolutionary aid of the Western workers cannot be replaced by imperialist alliances without catastrophic results for the October revolution. The Permanent Revolution, the special object of Stalinist hatred, has been replaced by permanent executions. National socialism in Russia has destroyed the soviet super-structure, replacing it with a totalitarianism as complete as Hitlers. The "socialist accumulation" of the five-year plans under Stalin rivalled the infamies of early capitalist accumulation.

Twenty years after the October revolution and the "complete victory of socialism," Denny of the New York **Times** reports that the coming winter in the U.S.S.R. is expected to be one of the hardest. The old familiar queues stretch for blocks, Twenty years after, the masses still wait for a pair of boots, an overcoat, a dress, a bottle of milk, a pound of butter.

Undermine the Only Force

The one force that could solve the Soviet Union's "international problem" was the working class and this is the force that the Soviet Union has consistently undermined. The policy of Soviet national socialism has been to use the workers abroad merely as diplomatic cannon fodder. Armaments are greater than ever, the power of Hitlerism has expanded,—and the workers have been filled with the virus of social patriotism.

The masses deep down are against imperialist war, They are ready to struggle for peace. The task is to show them that peace is attainable only by a struggle for power. But the Stalinist parties join with the most extreme reactionaries and nationalists in their agitation and incitement for war.

The Stalinists, like Browder in the United States, no longer even talk of the "defense of the Soviet Union." They proclaim their readiness to go to the defence of their own capitalist "fatherlands." They urge their own capitalist classes to protect and further their investments in colonies and markets abroad, so that the "democracies" can checkmate the fascists in South America or China!

The sole repository of the revolutionary internationalism of the early Comintern is now the Fourth International. The small groups of the new International in all countries have courageously struggled against the current of social-patriotism and uncompromisingly exposed the sources of Stalinist corruption. The Fourth International can have no illusions that it has the present strength to deter the imperialists in their war-provocations, or save the U.S.S.R. from inner degeneration or outside attack. This strength must come from the masses and the successful penetration of the masses by the revolutionary Marxists.

from: LIFE Magasine

Trotsky officially founds his own Fourth International in September 1938 in competition to Stalin's potent Third and Socialists' feeble Second.

The Soviets and Democracy

IMMEDIATELY AFTER the accession of Hitler, Trotsky wrote that the issue presenting itself to the masses was no longer Bolshevism versus Fascism but Fascism versus Democracy. Our subsequent critique of the Popular Front might make it appear that we had perversely abandoned this view when Moscow adopted it. That would be a complete misunderstanding. We rejected the whole conception of the Popular Front precisely because it was impotent to combat fascism. The struggle for the democracy vital to the workers could not be waged in a bourgeois alliance for the maintenance of a corrupt parliamentary regime and decaying capitalist social order. The Popular Front was a gigantic piece of political blackmail. The liberal bourgeoisie of France said to the workers: we shall collaborate with you and keep de la Roque and Doriot out, we shall let you have your unions and political parties, provided only that you quit the militant struggle against private property and the wage system, against militarism and imperialism. Otherwise we shall have to let the fascists restore order.

The sweep of Totalitarianism in Central Europe was appalling. At the stage of social development when humanity seemed to have reached the scientific mastery of nature, when the expansion of the productive powers seemed to have made possible the world state, a counter movement arose to set back the clock of civilization, a reaction against the ideals of humanitarianism and libertarianism, against the best traditions of the classical bourgeois revolutions. But especially was this counter revolution directed against the proletariat, as the social class which by its origins and position was the bearer of the internationalist, humanitarian, egalitarian society of the future which had been heralded by the Russian revolution.

Instinctively the workers rallied to the defence of their social conquests and their civil liberties. They felt that the immediate struggle must be for the preservation of democracy and they were right. But their true political instincts and aroused militancy were disgracefully aborted by their leaders. The revolutionary Marxist position has been that the struggle for democracy could only be successfully waged by methods of proletarian mass action that burst the confines of parliamentarism and the capitalist system. It was the class collaboration practised by the German Social Democrats that had paved the road for economic chaos and Hitler's triumph. The parties of the Second and Third Internationals, impotent in the struggle against capitalism, were powerful enough to transform the great mass movement of France and Spain into adjuncts of "democratic" imperialism. The Social Democracy, despite its name, has nowhere been able to preserve democracy and everywhere succumbed miserably either to the demands of the bourgeois democracy or the blows of totalitarian dictatorship.

The urgency of the struggle for democracy as one of the central tasks of our epoch received striking reinforcement about this time from the totalitarian transformation of the Soviet regime under Stalin. After twenty years of the October revolution, the Russian proletariat and vanguard lay prone under the iron heel of a totalitarian bureaucracy. The Soviet superstructure became indistinguishable from the Fascist. The technique of oppression and tyranny was the same, purges and concentration camps. The workers and peasants were deprived of civil liberties, the rights of the various nationalities were violated, the soviets were abolished, the trade unions were incorporated into the totalitarian state, Workers' Democracy was replaced by the hollow demagogy of the plebiscite. The arts were stultified. The revolutionaries were killed. The ideas of Marxism were hounded and driven underground.

The critical elements of the working class are compelled to sum up the lessons not only of the failure of the Western Social Democracy but of the degeneration of the Russian revolution as well. If the experiences of the European Social Democracy prove that socialism cannot be achieved by the methods and within the framework of bourgeois democracy, the Russian experiences show that socialism cannot be established without Workers' Democracy. It was Karl Radek who asserted that socialism would inevitably follow from the expansion of the Soviet productive forces. It was Trotsky who countered that genuine socialist construction was impossible without the democratic control and creative participation of the masses. The totalitarian development of the bureaucratic regime threatens to destroy completely the foundations of the October upheaval. What would emerge would be neither democracy nor socialism. The totalitarian regime in Moscow has reached the point where it is a prime obstacle to the further development of the revolution in the West.

The Russian proletariat could never have been rallied to the revolution in the name of this new despotism. Lenin justified the dictatorship of the proletariat as a higher form of democracy. Every cook would learn to govern. The Soviets would guarantee genuine liberty to the masses, truly reflect their will, assure genuine freedom of the press, of speech, of assembly. In an earlier generation Marx and Engels had learned from the Commune that the workers could not use a state apparatus subserving capitalist ends for entirely opposite socialist ends. The coercive machinery of the old sovereignty, police, army, judiciary, bureaucracy would have to be shattered first. The transition dictatorship of the proletariat would differ as radically from bourgeois democracy as parliamentarism from monarchical absolutism. The Commune would represent a higher stage of democracy based on social equality. The Russian development has been the very opposite.

If the workers are to be organized for militant resistance to world fascism they must be completely convinced that they are fighting for the genuine democracy that Marx and Lenin held out. The Russian revolution was the beacon light in the struggle for liberation. The Russian Bolsheviks once spoke with unparalleled authority. They had, as Rosa Luxemburg said, "saved the honor of the working class". Latter-day developments have raised grave questions in the minds of militants most thoroughly convinced of the bankruptcy of social reformism. What brought about the Russian degeneration? In this and subsequent articles we hope to analyze the various elements of this question.

* * *

For the Soviet Union the year 1923 was big with fate. Lenin was stricken down. A creeping economic crisis threatened to paralyze the ties of city and countryside. The hopes of a revolution abroad were dimmed when the German communists rehearsed their subsequent capitulation to Hitler. The arrogant encroachments of the party and government bureaucracy were provoking widespread discontent in the masses. It was at this crucial period that the first of the great "discussions" between Trotsky and the bureaucracy broke out. In a series of articles entitled *The New Course*, Trotsky opened fire on the bureaucracy as a menace to the aims and future of the proletarian revolution. *The New Course* is necessarily less graphic and more oblique than the analysis given in *The Revolution Betrayed* many years later. But even so brilliant a Marxist as Trotsky could not anticipate the full ravages of the coming Totalitarianism. The main question, however, is clearly defined: could the proletarian dictatorship survive to achieve the socialist society in

the absence of Workers Democracy, economic planning and the international revolution.

Adopted under the pressure of strikes, peasant uprisings, and the Kronstadt Rebellion, the New Economic Policy* was a frankly acknowledged retreat. War communism, imposed as a military necessity had not proven an economic success. It was "systematic regimentation of consumption in a beseiged fortress". Only the material aid of a victorious German revolution could have facilitated the direct transition to planned socialist economy. The Soviet power had otherwise to change its policy or invite destruction. "It was the first and I hope the last time in the history of Soviet Russia," Lenin reported, "that we had the great masses of the peasantry arrayed against us." The peasants had come to associate the gift of the soil with the "Bolsheviks" but the confiscation of its fruits with the "Communists". With no tangible industrial goods in exchange for grain surrendered to the bayonet, the peasantry declared a virtual sit-down strike. In 1920 Trotsky had submitted a project, then unacceptable to the Central Committee, for replacing the food-levy by a grain tax. The economic deadlock continued until a year later Lenin himself sought a way out by introducing the N.E.P. Forcible requisitioning of grain gave way to a fixed tax and free trading. The area under cultivation rose by several million desiatins, and industry received a marked impetus.

But in the summer of 1923 the N.E.P. revealed its limitations. At first the farm surplus was small, the city was hungry, and to obtain working capital, the state trusts sold available stocks at bargain prices. The peasants consequently netted a profit of some 200,000,000 gold rubles. The abundant harvest of 1922 forced agricultural prices down, thus reversing the situation. Aided by the State bank and the stable chervonetz, industry had freed itself from immediate dependence on the sales market. The brightly-colored paper ruble fell rapidly and the peasant was left holding the bag. In Trotsky's metaphor, the prices of industrial and of farm products, like the blades of an extended pair of scissors, tended to draw ever more widely apart. The reaction on the city was inevitable. Trade began to dry up. The banks shut off further credits. Industry slowed down and paid out wages irregularly. Strikes broke out and unemployment increased.

Since only thirty per cent of the pre-war level of industrial output had been reached, the crisis could scarcely be ascribed to overproduction. The contrary was indeed the fact. Should industrial development continue to lag, there was every indication that a better harvest might spell a more acute crisis. So decisive for the stability of the Soviet power, the "link" between the workers and peasants depended upon the capacity of state industry to produce machinery and consumers' goods of good quality and at low prices. But the problem of prices was bound up with the productive efficiency not of the individual factory alone, but of industry as a whole. Slashing prices and extending the benefits of the stable currency to the village would relieve the immediate tension. Unless however, there was far-sighted industrial coordination and planning, the costs of production would again be driven upwards, the chervonetz undermined, and agriculture retarded. An inadequate state industry would throw the peasant mass into the hands of the kulak (big peasant) and the Nepman (private trader). Twenty-five million small farms would constitute too fertile a breeding ground of capitalist relations. The socialist revolution must justify itself in terms of superior productivity. A socialist economy was only possible on the basis of large-scale machine industry and modern technique capable of collectivizing agriculture. But without long-term economic planning this perspective would be impossible of achievement.

This substantially was Trotsky's analysis of the crisis to the Twelfth Party Congress (April 1923), which officially adopted his proposals in the form of a resolution. But like the concurrent resolution on Workers' Democracy, it was destined to remain a dead letter. With Lenin's approaching death, the party bureaucrats were mainly pre-occupied with conspiring for power. Planning was all very well but they did not want Trotsky in charge of industrialization. Lip-service to Workers Democracy was unavoidable but they did not want their grip on the party machinery shaken.

With its limited outlook the party bureaucracy more naturally preferred to muddle along. Summing up the "discussion" as spokesman Zinoviev jeered at "the obstinate persistence in clinging to a beautiful plan. . . . We want transport affairs managed by Dzerzhinsky, economics by Rykov, finance by Sokolnikov; Trotsky on the other hand wants to carry out everything with the aid of a 'state plan'." Lenin had sharply rebuked those who attacked Trotsky's methodical restoration in 1920 of the transport system. "We have before us a real plan," declared Lenin, "worked out for a number of years. Decree No. 1042 looks five years ahead. . . . This is also how to work in other spheres of industry." The bureaucracy, however, continued to underestimate the resources of planned economy. When Trotsky wrote* in 1925 that even with an independent reproduction based on socialist accumulation an annual coefficient of 20 per cent was possible, this was greeted with ridicule. As late as 1928 Commissar of Agriculture Yakovlev contended that collectives would for years to come remain "little islets in the sea of private peasant farms". The prevailing outlook was Bukharin's "socialism at a snail's pace". Trotsky was stigmatized as a "super-industrialist". *Pravda* urged that "the economic possibilities of the well-to-do peasant . . . of the kulak must be unfettered". Bukharin exhorted the peasants to "enrich yourselves". Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the theory held, there was nothing to fear from the kulak; he could peacefully be fitted into the framework of socialism. The bureaucrats were equally hostile to the Opposition's demand for a swifter pace of industrialization. The 1927 Five Year Plan provided for a growth of industrial production annually declining from the first year's coefficient of 9 to 4 in the last; consumption to rise 12 per cent over the whole period. A year later the "general line" was patched up to provide for an annual average increase of 9 per cent. Only the third project of the plan approximated the platform of the Opposition.

It took the "grain strike" of 1928 to demonstrate that the kulak danger was no figment of Trotsky's imagination. The catastrophically low grain collections necessitated rationing and encroaching on the "untouchable reserves". Unemployment in the cities reached the two million mark. With the aid of the Right element, Stalin had crushed the Left Opposition. The force of the crisis now drove him to appropriate its economic platform. Socialism at a snail's pace gave way to socialism at a frenzied gallop.

Suppose that Stalin did "steal" Trotsky's program would it not be more principled to swallow mere pride of authorship? This more or less was the argument of every former Oppositionist who took the road of capitulation. Thus did Karl Radek write in 1929, "We may be dissatisfied with the tempo, we may suggest this or that often very important amendment but we have no distinct general line; consequently Trotsky must either take a step towards the party or think up a new platform. . . . In returning to the party we do not surrender a single Leninist principle for which we fought." The fate that befell Kamenev, Zinoviev and Radek is itself an eloquent answer. What separated Trotsky from Stalin was not a matter of tempo but principle. The economics of state planning could be properly and creatively applied only under conditions of Soviet democracy and revolutionary internationalism. For this reason the question of the party regime was crucial.

*Tenth Party Congress, March, 1921.

*Whither Russia, International Publishers, N. Y.

That the issue of Workers' Democracy should have been linked up in 1923 with the question of planned economy was therefore inevitable. The economic crisis stirred widespread political discontent. While war communism had been abandoned as an economic policy, it survived in the party regime. Lenin had grown acutely conscious that "we have bureaucratism not only in the state but in the party". To check this menace, he had sponsored the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. This organ of control, in turn, succumbed to the dead hand of bureaucracy. Of Stalin who was at its head, Lenin was writing in his famous Testament that "he has concentrated an immense power in his hands" and was urging that he be replaced in the post of General Secretary of the party by somebody wiser, less rude, more loyal. "Above all," Lenin had been stressing, "freedom of criticism in the party. We have always stood for that in theory, we must now put it into practise." But instead the party regime met criticism by the rigid enforcement of an emergency resolution of the Tenth Congress adopted in the emergency of the Kronstadt uprising, which proscribed factions. Nevertheless secret groups began to form. The "Workers' Truth" demanded freedom of working class press and association and attacked the privileges of the "new bourgeoisie". The "Workers' Group" criticised the dictatorship of the Triumvirate (Kamenev, Zinoviev, Stalin) and called upon the workers to strike. Actual dissatisfaction extended far beyond the limits of these semi-menshevik or anarchist circles. Anxious to preserve the authority of the party and to achieve all necessary reforms through its channels, Trotsky was not satisfied however that the way to stop factions was to call in the police. In 1922 the Twelfth Congress had passed a resolution in favor of Workers' Democracy; unfortunately it had never taken on the least semblance of reality. Trotsky's letter of October 8, 1923 to the Central Committee begins with a reference to Dzerzhinsky's proposal that all party members having knowledge of groupings in the party must communicate the fact to the G.P.U., the Control Commission and the Central Committee. "In the fiercest moment of war communism the system of appointment within the party did not have one tenth of the extent it has now. Appointments of the secretaries of provincial committees is now the rule. That creates for the secretary a position essentially independent of the local organization. . . . This present regime which began to form itself before the Twelfth Congress . . . is much further from workers' democracy than the regime of the fiercest period of war communism. . . . A very broad strata of party workers has been created, entering into the governing apparatus of the party who completely renounce their own party opinion, before whom every decision stands in the form of a summons or command." Why did Trotsky not protest sooner? "It is known to the members of the Central Committee that while fighting with all decisiveness within the Central Committee against a false policy I decidedly declined to bring the struggle within the Central Committee to the judgment of even a very limited circle of (outside) comrades. . . . I must state that my efforts of a year and a half have given no results. This threatens us with the danger that the party may be taken unawares by a crisis of exceptional severity. . . . In view of the situation created I consider it not only my right but my duty to make known the state of affairs to every member of the party whom I consider sufficiently prepared, mature and self-restrained, consequently able to help the party out of this blind alley without factional convulsions."

Under pressure, the ruling group now operating as a tightly-bound caucus drafted a new resolution for workers' democracy. It warned of the danger of a "loss of perspective of socialist construction and of the world revolution" and degeneration of the party workers as a result of their activities in close contact with a bourgeois milieu. Workers' Democracy was defined as a regime of "free discussion and the election of governing officials from top to bottom". The governing organs were not to treat every criticism as a manifestation of factionalism. Momentarily it looked like a triumph for Trotsky, but these concessions proved purely formal. The bureaucracy embraced democracy the better to strangle it. Seizing on Trotsky's comment on the resolution as some sort of breach of cabinet solidarity, the Triumvirate launched a savage attack. Trotsky was accused of attempting to pit the youth against the Old Guard, of wanting to shatter the party apparatus, and encouraging factionalism. The carefully oiled machinery of calumny and repression was set in motion. The Central Conference of party officials meeting in January 1924 formally condemned the Opposition "with Comrade Trotsky at the head of it". Stalin's control of the secretarial hierarchy now made itself fully felt. Trotsky's supporters were removed from every position of influence, and subjected to intimidation in office and factory. Students were expelled from the universities. The Red Army was "purged". Rakovsky was sent to London, Krestinsky to Berlin. A couple of hundred thousand raw recruits, watchfully shepherded by the bureaucracy, were immediately given the vote. The Thirteenth Party Congress of May 1924 was a foregone conclusion, packed by the apparatus men. A few days before, Krupskaya had transmitted to the Central Committee the Testament in which Lenin proposes Stalin's removal from the position of General Secretary. It was a culmination of a sharpening struggle with Stalin covering the last half year of Lenin's life. He had successively attacked Stalin's national policy, his tampering with the foreign trade monopoly, his bureaucratic stultification of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. This did not prevent the cynical bureaucrats from setting themselves up as Lenin's only true disciples. The handpicked delegates would not hear of Stalin's resignation —though the latter made the hypocritical gesture. Unscrupulously exploiting the reverence of the masses for Lenin, the bureaucracy conjured up the spectre of Trotskyism. There began that unparalleled falsification of history that has continued without let-up and has been reinforced by the monstrous technique of frame-ups, "confessions", and bloody executions. Every effort was strained to make the masses forget the political accord which united Lenin and Trotsky—their cooperation in the October insurrection, the years of civil war, the organization of the Red Army, the development of the Communist International. Instead they were served with a steady diet of polemical quotations torn from their context of time and circumstance. "You must understand," Zinoviev later confessed, "that it was a struggle for power. The whole art of the thing was to combine old disagreements with new questions."

Zinoviev was later to rue his part in the conspiracy, to state that the struggle against Trotsky had been the greatest mistake of my life, more dangerous than the mistake of 1917. Amid the menacing outcries of Stalin's henchmen, Kamenev was to exclaim: "We are against the elevation of a 'Leader'. . . . We are opposed to the Secretariat setting itself up above the party organization." Bukharin was to cry out "What can we do, what can we do in the face of an adversary of this kind, a debased Genghis-Khan of the Central Committee." For the defeat of the 1923 Opposition platform of Workers' Democracy eventually led to the complete political despotism of Stalin. The old Bolsheviks were mercilessly exterminated. But first, as the price of membership in the party they were compelled to disarm not only organizationally but ideologically.

Maurice SPECTOR

"IN ITS FIGHT AGAINST Imperialism, the proletariat cannot set up as its political aim the return to the old European map: It must set up *its own program of State and National relations*, harmonizing with the fundamental tendency of economic development, with the revolutionary character of the age and with the Socialist interests of the proletariat."—Trotsky in 1918.

Quebec?

Is French Canada Going Fascist?

AT A POW-WOW in Kingston, Ontario, on July 12, an assortment of self-confessed Canadian fascists announced their fusion into a "National Unity Party" and for their Big Chief picked Adrien Arcand, henchman of Premier Duplessis of Quebec. The unification ceremonies were punctuated by war-whoops so dreadful the American "liberal" press was aroused to almost a fortnight of jitters before relapsing into the usual somnolence regarding affairs Canadian. The New York *Post*, in a series of reportorial alarums and excursions, calculated 100,000 armed pogromists in the new party, assumed underground links between it and all the goose-stepping Bunds and assorted Shirts of the U.S., and solemnly pictured an imminent uprising of all North American fascism, with bombers taking off from Canadian fields, subjugating Washington, and so, at one swoop, destroying the beloved democracies of Roosevelt and MacKenzie King.

Although the press reaction was mainly an illustration of liberal hysteria adapted to the game of circulation-boosting, it is true that the stock of the heil-boys and their ideas is on the way up in Quebec. The facts can be with difficulty gleaned from the boasts of the various führers. Only a month before the Kingston potlatch even the imaginative M. Arcand claimed but 15,000 members for his own blueshirt tribe; yet this was the largest of the groups making up the new N.U.P. This has not prevented him from announcing 80,000 adherents to the latter already. It is likely that its total active, disciplined membership is less than 6,000, the great majority confined to Quebec; but even this is a force large enough for nuisance value. The various Anglophile grouplets, such as the Victoria Young Citizens' League and the Vancouver Canadian Guards, which for the moment toss in the same bed with the French-Canadian fire-eaters, are scarcely more than paper names tacked to Arcand's publicity hokum, and the same may be said for the shadowy bands of his "lieutenants", Farr of Toronto anad Whittaker of Winnipeg. The truth is that Arcand concocted his N.U.P. in desperation after his own buddies had thrown him out of the French-Canadian separatist movement, in order to re-establish his usefulness for big business. Rival demagogues are outshining him in his own language and he has led whatever dupes he could into an unstable affiliation with any little western jew-baiter who would bow to his duceship.

The simon-pure Quebec separatists continue on their English-hating way, coached chiefly by Canada's aspiring Coughlin, a learned fraud branded with the name of Abbé Groulx, who professes history at the benighted Catholic University of Montreal. The Abbé has a simple formula: drive out the bloodsucking "foreigners" (*i.e.*, Anglo-Saxons), cut loose from the pagan British Empire, and make Quebec a corporate Catholic state at last fit for "Canadians" (*i.e.*, French-Canadians). These views are given the magic of print by *L'Unité*, circulation 30,000, and *La Nation*, circulation 15,000. Paul Bouchard, editor of the latter, is said to take down his back hair weekly with Charpentier, head of the Catholic unions (membership 45,000). Ideologically akin is the National Corporatist Movement with 33,000 supporters in 1245 Quebec parishes, which aims at a separate fascist state administered by the Roman Church. In such a political manure-heap it is natural to find four flourishing youth organizations of the same genus. Although one of them takes its name and program from the Jeunesse Patriote across the water, most of the younglings echo their parents in a repudiation of modern France, that den of republicans, reds, atheists, and church-taxers, and in a compensatory enthusiasm for those great Catholics, Franco and Mussolini.

Arcand, Fascist Chameleon

Arcand, with his more indiscriminate admirations, embracing the rulers of Portugal, Poland, and Germany (where Catholics haven't had everything they wanted), and his willingness to play ball with the Anglo-Saxon scum, would be a minor figure in Quebec politics if it were not that his eclecticism itself makes him at present very valuable to Duplessis. For the latter is premier of a province which contains in addition to most of Canada's French, a clustre of her very richest Anglo-Saxon bankers and bond-clippers—and contributors to his campaign chest. Hence Arcand continues to edit Duplessis' big official daily, *L'Illustration Nouvelle*, and is in turn protected and encouraged in his own little affairs. These include the publishing of an official fascist muck-sheet, *Le Combat National*, which, under the emblem of a flaming torch, continues to smoke out "international Jewish finance and international Jewish communism". Periodically it befouls the mails with supplements reprinting the fake Protocols of Zion (formerly made accessible to America by Henry Ford) and similar inflammatory anti-semitisms.

When he is not editing, Arcand peddles the same line in silvery lectures to hand-picked police-guarded audiences free of Annie Oakleys, or drilling his plug-uglies in "street-fighting tactics", or getting his lady-like profile photographed for the newspapers. Interviewed earlier in the year by David Martin, he declared with disarming simplicity that he and his boys stood for "God, family, private property, and personal initiative. . . . We believe the Jews are responsible for all the evils in the world today". Once in power, of course, it will be necessary to suppress not only Jews and Reds but "all other parties". "We" would then "declare unionism obligatory for bosses and workers, and organize the corporate state".* Needless to say the "unionism" to be cultivated will be the hothouse variety evolved by Mussolini: trade unions and parliaments are to be replaced by "corporates" wherein a single employer has a vote equal to that of all his employees and the state stands ready to break any deadlock by casting a vote in favor of "God, family, private property, and personal initiative". M. Arcand is also interested in the lucubrations of the Imperial Fascist League in England, some of whose pamphlets he circulates, and he is rumored to be in comradely touch with Herr Kuhn of the U.S.A.

Openly the new Arcand party seems to have made little progress since its trumpeted fusion and one can expect splits any time, what with the variegated aims of the outfit and a certain lack of color and originality in the Chief. Below ground, however, Arcand is preparing for just such an emergency by strengthening his tie-up with the still powerful Conservative Party and other respectably reactionary and nationally more dangerous organizations. In the last federal election he ran the entire Quebec campaign for the Conservatives. Since then it has become an open charge that Duplessis himself is a secret adviser in Arcand's organization, and that most of his Cabinet are members, together with French Conservatives who were once in the Dominion Cabinet and now have posts in the federal Senate. Manion, the new Conservative Party leader replacing Bennett, is himself a good French Catholic, a pal of Duplessis, and, if his speeches are any indication, perhaps also of Arcand.

Canada's Sudetens

To understand the growth of both Arcand's gang and the separatist French movement it is necessary to keep in mind the

*Nation, Feb. 26, 1938.

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fantastic character of the Canadian "nation". Isolated from a natural economic growth within the U.S.A. by a boundary line as arbitrary and illogical as Czecho-Slovakia's, Canada has also a somewhat similar minorities problem. A scant half of the population is British in origin; 20% is made up of races and creeds from all over the globe, and another 28% are French-speaking Catholic descendants of the original colonists conquered by British muskets in 1765. From 65,000 they have multiplied to 2,800,000 in a population of 11 million—a number almost exactly proportional to the Sudeten population of Czecho-Slovakia. Eighty-one per cent are concentrated in the province of Quebec, but while the general Canadian birth rate is falling precipitately,* the French, as befits devout Catholics, reproduce as of yore, and now overflow at such a rate that the ancient Scotch Presbyterian province of New Brunswick reports with alarm a school population 40% Catholic, most of whom are French. All that is necessary to bring Europe's lunatic ward into America's back-yard is for De la Rocque or some other fascist son of the Church to secure power in France, declare a Catholic corporate state, and demand autonomy for the persecuted Gauls of Canada.

Lacking such a champion the French-Canadians are driven to find their own Henleins by much the same economic frustration, national straightjacketing, and ignorance. Almost as thoroughly as the Czechs, the Anglo-Saxons monopolize big business, freeze out the French shopkeepers of Montreal with chain stores, discriminate against Frenchmen in the civil service and in a hundred other fields. It is true the workers are equally sweated by their own Catholic capitalists when these get a chance, but so long as the latter remain a tiny minority, the basis for a fanatical separatist movement exists. Theoretically the French are protected from discrimination by the British North America Act under which the Dominion was created. This guarantees them proportional representation in the Dominion Parliament, national equality of language, religious freedom, and the preservation within Quebec of the old French civil law and feudal land system. The real result of all this, however, has been to perpetuate artificially the racial and religious barriers between the French and the rest of Canada, and to doom the Quebec masses to ruthless feudal exploitation by seignorial landlords and an all-powerful State Church. Made the underdog nationally, the impoverished Frenchman takes meagre solace in bullying the Englishmen within his own province. Smothered by the mountainous ignorance of Catholicism he has been so far persuaded to consider his own exploiters as benevolent protectors against the heathen Saxon.

Petrified Church-State

The power of the Church is the key to the fascist-separatist maze in Quebec today. By far the largest single landholder in the province, and perhaps in the Dominion, its wealth can be estimated only in the billions. From every inhabitant of Quebec it takes an average of $10 yearly in direct tolls, apart from rents and mortgages. Its political control is open and virulent. The Cardinal, Villeneuve, enjoys not only the empty dignity of a joint throne with the Lieutenant-Governor, but also the real power of a backwoods Richelieu, as adviser and even intimidator of the Premier. The notorious Padlock Law was, for instance, personally "suggested" by him to Duplessis. Lesser church dignitaries have their seats in an antediluvian and autocratic Senate —the only provincial upper-house not yet abolished in Canada. The laws are naturally fashioned in the interests of these pious parasites. Church tithes have priority over all other debts and failure to pay them can lead to imprisonment. If a priest decides to build a new church, he may legally compel his parishioners to mortgage their homes in payment for it, and foreclose on them in the bargain. By contrast, foreclosures cannot be visited upon church property, which is also free from municipal taxation and exempt from the operations of even Quebec's miserable Minimum Wage Law.

Petrified feudal privilege similarly allows Quebec's masters to dodge compulsory education, and fill the boards of what state schools there are with the usual priestly *incubi*. English, which was to have equal standing with French, is now not to be taught till the fifth grade; since probably 75% of the young poor are dragged out to work before they have reached that pathetic cultural eminence, everything is now hunky-dory for producing a generation of French-Canadians without so much as a smelling acquaintance with the general language of America. McGill, Montreal's non-denominational college, despite its illiberal governing board, looks like an academy in a world socialist state compared with the Catholic University of Montreal. The 1928-9 calendar of the latter institution expressly warns its students, and their papas, against seduction by the three great Errors: "le materialisme, le liberalisme, et le modernisme" (p. 19).

Clerical control reaches into every phase of life. Only the Church can perform marriages; there is no such thing as divorce, and annulment is extremely difficult unless you can show that your mate was a non-Catholic, when it is quite easy. Women have no vote. Films are so bowdlerized that even the innocuous Life of Zola couldn't get through the border. Those French classics alone are sold in open shops which have escaped the *Index Expurgatoris*. Cultural sterilization is completed by the systematic isolation of the faithful in religious clubs, by sexes and by social strata, from babyhood to senility.

As a direct result Quebec endures living standards as wretched as those in the Deep South or Newfoundland. The long-delayed Minimum Wage Law ignores governmental, church, and agricultural employees, and provides only that fulltime skilled labor should not be paid less than $8-$12 weekly. Since this represents a 25% increase over average wages heretofore, Duplessis is making no effort to enforce the law; it would be too revolutionary. Quebec's timber resources may be endless, but Montreal's slums are the most decrepit in a Dominion generally and chronically afflicted with housing shortage. No wonder the infant death rate is double Ontario's, and the proportion of contagious diseases nearly triple. With a population 17% less than her western neighbor, she uses only 30% the number of autos, and her book circulation is 5% of Ontario's.* The Montreal relief roll is 135,000 in a population of a million—one in seven.

Twentieth-century industrialization of the province has simply increased the economic misery of the French without breaking the hold of feudal reaction. The backwoods Quebec farmer survived for two centuries on second-rate farms by the use of medieval tools and primitive barter; he could not save to leave or to climb out of his class, but he had a certain relative self-sufficiency. Now his sons and daughters, who used scarcely to see $10 cash in a year, are drawn to the money-wages of the new pulp mills and power and manufacturing plants, only to find themselves sweated and starved as never before. The urban population, already 52% of Quebec by 1911, increased to 64% by 1931. Montreal, Canada's largest city, has been growing faster than either Chicago or New York in their weediest days. This has swelled the reservoir of cheap industrial labor, unprotected by legislation and green to trade unionism. Many Ontario manufacturers have actually shifted their plants to Quebec to share in the pickings of an ingenuous proletariat which still goes to mass to hear the priest tell it how to vote.

The Revolt Against Catholicism

The long-term results which are now beginning to show are much less acceptable to the exploiters, both lay and clerical.

*Births per 1,000: 1921, 29.4; 1935, 20.2.

*See D. Levine, *Proletarian Outlook*, July 1938.

When the *habitant*† becomes a proletarian he frequently has to work with English-speaking heretics, perhaps even secret "reds"; from these he learns that his living conditions are worse than anywhere else in the country and that this is partly to be explained by his extra burden of perpetual tribute to the Church. If he is to remain a meek sheep for the shearing he must be taught that the wolf is somewhere else. Separatist fascism supplies the answer, and the threatened Church the money to organize it. Antisemitism is encouraged to divide the French worker from the equally exploited but more radical Jews of Montreal. It is awkward of course that there is not a single Jewish name or face on the boards of any Canadian bank or trust or utility or transportation company; this can be partly got round by references to the ultimate control by those ubiquitous Jews, Morgan and Mond, but it is eventually necessary to provide a headier propaganda wine than this. Hence non-Semitic magnates are labelled "foreigners" who have attached the French Garden of Eden to a godless Empire. In this manner even the French-Canadians' progressive resistance to British imperialist warfare is used to preserve vestigial Catholic feudalism and the economic suicide of Quebec separatism.

Nevertheless the grim wolf will still creep and intrude into the fold. As early as 1901 American trade-union scouts were slinking into the St. Lawrence valley. In desperation the Church created its own unions, a Federation of "Syndicats", to coalesce the functions of a company union and a Sunday school. For constitution the federation was presented with a papal encyclical of Leo XIII, beginning, "Yes, misery and suffering are the heritage of mankind, and should men try everything in their power, they will never succeed in eliminating them." But slave epigrams are one thing and economics another. By last year the Federation had grown to 45,000 members and its unions were actually engaging in strikes, as in the foundry and ship-repair yards of Sorel. Some of its sections risked purgatory to form joint committees with the A.F.L. to bargain for wage-agreements with Duplessis and even, in one instance, to run a joint labor candidate at municipal polls. Worse, 3000 Catholic needle-trade workers defied hell-fire and joined the I.L.G.W.U. When they also went on strike, Archbishop Gauthier threatened excommunication, but the picket lines endured and the strike was won. Most catastrophic of all, the C.I.O. climbed into the seignorial paradise and with the help of the Trades and Labor Congress led 10,000 textile workers to another strike victory. Duplessis rushed through fake labor legislation specifically barring the C.I.O. and outlawing the closed shop, but the C.I.O., though virtually driven underground, continues to seduce the toiling worshippers of Mary, in the mines, furniture factories, offices, press rooms, fur shops and steel plants.

The Padlock Law

A parallel reform movement swept Quebec politics but this has been quickly decapitated. After forty incredible years the rotting Taschereau Liberal regime was booted out by a new "Union Nationale" headed by none other than Duplessis and dedicated to busting the trusts, or as the French-Canadians more euphoniously say, the "trustards". Once in power Duplessis quickly made his peace with the denizens of St. James Street (Canada's Wall Street) and substituted the safer scapegoat of Bolshevism. "An Act Respecting Communistic Propaganda", generally known as the Padlock Law, was shoved through an unanimous legislature; this makes it illegal for the owner or renter of a building "to use it, or to allow any person to make use of it, to propagate communism or bolshevism by any means whatever". The definition of communism was left to the Attorney-General, a post which Duplessis took over for himself; in any case, there is no appeal allowed from the decision of the local judge. Penalty for conviction is one year's padlocking of the building and confiscation of the literature involved and anything else the cops take a fancy to.

During the first six months of the new *carte blanche* there was an average of two raids a day, during which several thousand books and newspapers were destroyed. These included a copy of *Tom Sawyer* and some Protestant bibles which a Baptist mission had been nefariously circulating* Significantly the trade unions have been the victims of 80% of the raids, and the offices and homes of the Catholic Syndicalists are not exempt. But since the masses continue to be restless, and apostates multiply daily, the authorities find it necessary to muzzle even the mildest liberals. The apartment of John MacCormac, New York *Times* correspondent, was combed for bolshevism, C.C.F. professors are threatened, and even the microscopic Stalinists are not immune. In vain Tim Buck assures the peace-loving Church of his peace-loving friendship; Duplessis' men continue to carry off the Stalin hymnals and the *balileikas* from the Young Pioneers. When a highly respectable Stalinist member of the Chamber of Deputies was imported from France to speak about "peace", Duplessis arranged with the young fascists of the University of Montreal to create riots in the streets, and used the excuse to ban the meeting. Several Jewish stores were incidentally smashed in the process.

How Not to Fight Fascism

To these open provocations of reaction the C.C.F. and Stalinites reply only with a falsetto clamor about civil liberties. Under their influence the victimized trade unions are headed off from the essential task of organizing defense squads and persuaded to substitute the telegraphing of protests to the stuffed-shirt Lapointe, Dominion Attorney-General. The latter had, for a certain period of time now elapsed, the constitutional power to nullify the Padlock Law as contrary to the B.N.A. Act, a power which he had been nimble to use when Aberhart's Social Credit government tried to clip the wings of the banks in Alberta. The 45 trades unions and the 63 other organizations, with a combined membership of 100,000, which sent Lapointe high-falutin resolutions about the Padlock Law, were however quite logically ignored.

A typical example of the "fight against fascism" as waged by Canada's self-styled Lefts was provided in July when Arcand held his first Toronto meeting. The Stalinites staged a counter-rally in a hall well removed, at which 10,000 of the faithful, the curious, and the duped were treated to an hour's slamming of Marxism by ex-Ambassador Dodd of Washington. The C.C.F., afraid to sully its petit-bourgeois fingers with any kind of united front, held its own gathering for 800 assorted pinks—also safely remote from the scene of battle. The fascists carried on unhampered; a few Fieldites, bravely cooperating with nobody and anxious for publicity at any price, managed to get themselves arrested by the cops detailed to preserve the democratic liberties of Monsieur Arcand.

Within the C.C.F. the Socialist Policy Group agitates for a united defense organization and workers' guards, but it is a voice crying in the wilderness. Instead, the C.C.F. has floated a Canadian Civil Liberties Union which naturally gets nowhere. For all the legality of the matter, Quebec might set up a fascist government tomorrow and, provided it stayed within the Dominion, receive the blessing of the Canadian Democratic State. On the other hand, if the B.N.A. Act is modified to curb provincial powers, Duplessis has already made it clear he will fight any changes with armed insurrection.

In Ontario, Premier Hepburn, persecutor of the C.I.O., tool

†French-Canadian farmer.

*See Montreal *Gazette*, Feb. 7, 1938.

of the mining interests, and a typical Canadian Huey Long, has formed an open bloc with Duplessis to preserve the profits of the two richest provinces from the begging hands of the impoverished west. These two men are propably much more dangerous than Arcand; they may even be the real Canadian fascists of the future. They are steadily creating a reactionary boss regime inside the crumbling shell of the old Liberal party, and plainly have ambitions in Dominion politics. At the moment these provincial demagogues are putting on a strip-tease act with the rags of bourgeois democracy. Eventually they, or other troupers of the same breed, may wriggle out of the last shred and, to the applause of the capitalist baldheads, the curtain will ring down on naked fascism.

The Proletarian Road

There is yet time, especially if Canada is not immediately involved in European war, to stop the show. Except in Quebec, fascism languishes until the workers threaten big business sufficiently. But the Augean stables won't be cleaned out with the teaspoons of the old ladies in the Civil Liberties Union. If the C.C.F. is ever to become a party of labor it must be prepared to meet the fascists physically blow for blow. It must give the lead to the unions and to the working class organizations of all kinds in the formation of joint defense squads with a permanent centre and trained worker-defenders. There must be no spreading of illusions that legislative tinkering will halt reaction. In short the party which will prevent fascism in Canada must be also the party capable of carrying the working-class to revolutionary victory. Such a party must be itself working-class. The prairie farmers, a potential reservoir for fascist recruitment, must be won to the support of the workers not, as now in the C.C.F., by wholesale concessions to their sectionalist and anti-labor habits, but by showing them in theory and practise that only the power of labor can destroy the capitalism that bleeds all toilers alike.

The complicated Quebec problem will also be solved only by a militant workers' party willing to concede the right of self-determination to the 2½ millions with a different race, language, and traditions, but fearless also in exposing the role of Catholic religion and Catholic wealth. Such a party will need to fight the pussyfooting Stalinists and all other betrayers who cloak the economic exploitation of Quebec Catholicism with the excuse that the pious worker must not be antagonized. The fight against fascism in Quebec is today *primarily* a fight against the Catholic Church, against the poisonous drugs of its religious doctrines, against its legal and against its political hold on the masses. When that is broken, much of the "separatist" problem will disappear, as it has already evaporated in the minds of those French-Canadian workers who have thrown off Catholicism already and struck against bosses of all creeds. The militants in the Catholic unions must be roused to multiply their joint-committees with the other unions. From this it will be possible to proceed to trade union unification, and, granted a Marxist cadre, to independent political action and unification with the proletarian revolutionary forces in Canada and the United States. That is the only way to say a final "No" to the question, "Is French Canada Going Fascist?"

E. ROBERTSON

The Popular Front's Guilt

THE PREREQUISITE of sound revolutionary policy is to see things as they are. No little part of the victorious advance of Hitler is the gift of his opponents' inability to give a straight account of reality. How little these illusions have served the cause of effective struggle against fascism! When the Nazi movement appeared, clever liberals said Germany was not Italy. The Munich beer-hall putsch they thought very funny, very funny, what with Ludendorff falling down flat on his stomach and Hitler landing up in jail. The social crisis and with it the Nazi movement grew. Hitler lost two million votes and the German communists proclaimed that fascism was finished. The *Rote Fahne* vociferated that the proletariat was ready to strike at the command of the Communist Party. Hitler took power with little more resistance than a couple of street fights. The social democrats, headed by Otto Wels, and trade unionists led by Leipart hoped that by declaring their loyalty to the Nazi state, they would be allowed to function as a legal opposition. Hitler destroyed the entire German free trade union movement and put its leaders into concentration camps. Undeterred by any prejudice for truth, the Stalinists kept telling their followers that all was not yet over; the revolution would break out any day. The country was allegedly honeycombed with red cells and Storm Troopers were preparing to transfer their allegiance. But the German proletariat kept paying the price of capitulation. The next self-deception of these tragi-comic politicians was in Germany's isolation. Hitler was surrounded by the "democracies". The Reichswehr generals were in opposition. Hitler, however, had taken the measure of the "democracies". He occupied the Rhineland and introduced conscription. He made a deal with the Poles and Mussolini. Austria was taken. Czechoslovakia was hemmed in. The gallant Czech people would fight, the world was next told. The French army was the best in Europe. The Russians had the deadliest air fleet and could drop whole regiments behind the enemy's lines by the parachute route. But the ramshackle edifice of the Popular Front and collective security, put to the test, collapsed like a pricked balloon.

The fact is that the Munich accord is the greatest victory that German fascism has carried off since 1933. Hitler stands at the head of a totalitarian state of 80 million Germans, more powerful than Bismarck, or perhaps Napoleon. Munich was the final smash-up of the Versailles balance of power. The map of Central Europe is now redrawn. Economic and political domination of Southeastern Europe goes to Nazi Germany. The Little Entente is dissolved. The Czech alliance with the U.S.S.R. is broken. The Franco-Soviet pact is dead. The Baltic countries are whipped into the orbit of either Germany or Poland. Hungary will be a satellite and nobody takes the military power of Carol's Rumanian dictatorship seriously. In the last war von Mackensen romped through the gallant Rumanian army in the matter of a couple of weeks, if our memory serves us. The remnant of Czechoslovakia has become totalitarian. The French have appointed an ambassador to Rome. Chamberlain and Mussolini are preparing to liquidate Spain. Barcelona can be transformed into a fascist set-up as rapidly as Prague. The Soviet Union is isolated and to all intents and purposes the German army is encamped on the borders of the Ukraine.

Fascism bestrides the continent; it is idle to deny it. Munich was the grand pay-off for two decades of defeat of the proletarian revolution. In 1918 the German Social Democracy could have chosen an "eastern orientation", a bloc with revolutionary agrarian Russia. The Bolsheviks proposed such a bloc. Europe was still in a state of post-war revolutionary ferment. A union of Russia and Germany would have put an end to capitalist domination and led to a United States of Europe. It was the most natural alliance for both parties. The bourgeois Germany of Rathenau found it necessary to conclude the Rappallo Treaty and foster trade relations. The German Reichswehr found it necessary to seek collaboration with the General Staff of the Red Army. But the Social Democracy contemptuously rejected the Bolshevik advances and embarked on a Western orientation. They decided to fulfil the impossible terms of the Treaty of Versailles, taking on themselves an odium that was to cost them dearly in the future, the odium for the degradation and humiliation of a once great power. But no matter how "loyally" the Weimar Republic kowtowed to the Versailles powers, they were always kept humbly waiting on the door-step of the servants entrance. Otto Bauer preferred the same policy for Austria. In 1923 and again in 1933, social democratic and communist parties evacuated all their positions, surrendered all the social gains of decades to fascism without a struggle. The Austrian workers fought, proving that the rank and file was made of different mettle than the parliamentary leadership. But it was too late.

The tide of revolutionary unrest and the will to combat fascism rose high again in the French labor movement in 1934. The combined efforts of the Socialists and Stalinists succeeded in diverting the revolutionary ferment into the channels of popular frontism. Social-patriotism and class collaboration were sweetened in the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy which had entered into an alliance with the imperialist "democracies". To this alliance the revolutionary cause of the Spanish workers was sacrificed. The struggle of the Spanish workers for their social liberation was prohibited by the united threats and pressure of the "democracies" and Moscow. To all protests of the militants, to all the warnings of revolutionary Marxists the Second and Third Internationals replied that the Popular Front was the way to fight fascism at home, and collective security the way to hold the fascist powers in check abroad. This was the "struggle for peace and democracy". A revolutionary policy, a policy of the class struggle would we were told open the road to fascist aggression; it would weaken the democracies and encourage the aggressor. The Internationals of Social Democracy and Stalinism thus became the most ardent defenders of the capitalist status quo and of the Versailles set-up.

To Hitler these policies of the Comintern and Social Democracy were worth any number of army corps. He no longer had to fear the effect that a revolutionary working class in the "democratic countries" would have on the workers of the fascist countries. The Popular Front's acceptance of the status quo as its point of departure enabled Hitler to represent his opponents as the people who wanted to perpetuate the Peace Treaty of 1919. On the other hand despite all the propaganda for the democracy of "brave little Czechoslovakia", the event has shown that the French workers were little impressed. Millions of workers in both England and France must have had an uneasy feeling that they would be fighting to maintain three million Germans under Czech rule. There must have been many in France who recalled that when a proposal was made in the French Chamber in 1933 to join in the celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the Czech republic, the Stalinist Peri got up to oppose it on the ground that "our sympathy goes to the working classes of Czechoslovakia and the minorities oppressed by the central power in Prague". He proceeded to accuse Benes of preparing "concentration camps on the model of Hitler's Germany". In the debates in the Socialist party, Paul Faure recently reminded his colleagues that "at the moment when the Sudeten Germans were ceded to Czechoslovakia, the Socialist party took a position in favor of the Sudetens". When it came to the point the French worker proved unwilling to fight for the rotten fruits of the Versailles Peace.

Collective Security proved to be a colossal swindle. What happened at Munich was a more grandiose repetition of the sanctions farce during the Italo-Ethiopian war. The Munich accord writes finis to the successive hoaxes of the Covenant of the League, the Kellogg Pact to outlaw war, the Nine-Power Treaty to safeguard China and all the rest of the legalistic skullduggery that was to lull the peoples into the illusion that "power politics" had given way to the "reign of law", but was in reality a means of sanctifying the existing partition of the world among the powers on the basis of their relation of forces in 1918. All that the collective security talk did was to blunt the edge of the revolutionary struggle against war and militarism inside the mass movement and thereby enable Hitler, with the acquiescence of the "democratic" imperialisms to advance his interests in Central Europe and effect a new equilibrium. Collective Security was as little capable of stopping Hitler as sanctions stopped Mussolini.

Munich enables us to draw a fresh balance of the condition of "democracy". Several years of the Popular Front have issued in the growth of reaction. The *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent confirms this. "The internal consequences of Munich in France are still incalculable. The idea of building up a tremendous defence machine has gained ground and with it all sorts of theories about an authoritarian regime, a military dictatorship, a totalitarian financial system." A hopeful sign is the report that "among the working class, on the other hand, there is profound disgust with the 'Republican regime' as it has functioned in the last few months and a great loss of loyalty to 'democracy'." The danger is that in default of revolutionary leadership, this same disgust with "democracy" may easily wind up in the channels of fascism. Frank Hanighen in the *New Republic* reports much in the same vein: ". . . disquieting results are now back of the relief at demobilization and peace, one can discern among the workers not only a disgust with their clumsy government but also a disillusion with such slogans as 'democracy', 'front against fascism', etc." Such darlings of the Left as Kerillis are calling for an authoritarian republic. The *mystique* of the Popular Front is gone.

The role of the U.S.S.R. those weeks of crisis was a complete reflection of the impotence and degeneration of the Soviet bureaucracy. Nobody has yet explained how the destruction of the political and spiritual capital of the Russian revolution could possibly enhance the authority of the U.S.S.R. in international diplomacy. When Eden was toasting Stalin in Moscow and Litvinoff was toasting His Majesty, when Barthou and Herriot were negotiating for Russia's entrance into the League, and the Franco-Soviet pact appeared in outline, it looked like a diplomatic triumph for the Stalinist regime, particularly after the accession of Hitler in Germany. But all this was a pretentious facade. The complete isolation of the U.S.S.R. during the Berchesgaden-Godesberg-Munich negotiations is the pay-off. While Chamberlain and Hitler talked, Litvinoff sat in the charnel-house of Geneva. At no time was the voice of the Soviet Union heard clearly. Litvinoff mumbled something, Maisky mumbled something. Poland was warned not to take Teschen (which she proceeded to do nevertheless). It appears that the real explanation for Soviet paralysis was Colonel Lindbergh. Against the colonel, Stalin ordered full mobilization (of verbal batteries) and war to the knife. Lindbergh destroyed the Popular Front, Lindbergh overthrew collective security and Lindbergh is the mortal enemy of democracy.

Anyone familiar with Stalin's record of diplomatic "successes" cannot be surprised by the addition of Munich. The famous Anglo-Russian Committee experiment wound up in the Scotland Yard raid on Arcos. The famous strategy of Stalin in the Kuomintang ended with the slaughter of Russian functionaries in Shanghai and Borodin and Galen taking to their heels with Chiang Kai Shek's men in hot pursuit. When Hitler came to power Trotsky's suggestion that the Red Army mobilize was denounced as adventurism (despite the acknowledged fact that the Reichswehr was not prepared to resist had the French marched during the occupation of the Rhineland much later). Instead Stalin hurried to conclude a trade treaty with Hitler. When the workers of all other countries were demonstrating in protest against Hitler's terrorism, only the Soviet workers were ordered to remain silent. Loudly demanding the application of sanctions during the Italo-Ethiopian war, the Stalinist bureaucracy itself steadily maintained its oil shipments to Mussolini. When the Spanish civil war broke out, Stalin did intervene—to keep the working class harnessed to the Popular Front and bourgeois democracy.

But the sabotage and ruination of the revolutionary movement abroad means the increasing isolation of the October revolution. The fear of the gathering volume of political and social discontent in the Soviet Union forces Stalin to his preventive purges, which undermine the strength and morale of the army, the navy, the schools, and every institution in the country. The one shortage that Stalinist Russia escapes is executions. The imperialist powers have naturally drawn their conclusions, Daladier and Chamberlain ignore the U.S.S.R. in their calculations, and Hitler speculates on the state of mind of the Ukrainian peasant—and no doubt also receives reports on the outlook of fascism among the soviet bureaucrats.

The European crisis has strikingly revealed the horror that the masses entertain for modern war. This is confirmed on all hands. The Paris correspondent of the *New Republic* writes: "the mobilization instead of reviving nationalist brio among the people, had an almost reverse effect". If anything more was needed the sense of relief that swept Europe after the Munich conference is sufficient evidence of the desire for peace. Yet in this situation, where the masses are helpless without leadership, the Stalinists, laborites and social democrats were out in the forefront as vociferous warmongers. The Social Democracy of 1914 cannot be said to have actually assumed the initiative of agitating for war. The Comintern of 1938 did. The masses drifted, in the clutch of the diplomacy of their governments. As an organized international force and as a political factor, the working class were therefore absent. The Britsh Labor party on account of its pro-war stand is committed to the heavier rearmament program of Chamberlain. Their leaders like Lord Strabolgi have already come out "for a measure of compulsory National Service" that is to say, conscription.

In sharp contrast with the chauvinist incitements of the Laborite and Stalinist organizations was the fervent peace sentiment manifested by the masses. More than ever that peace sentiment becomes a progressive factor that intelligent revolutionary socialist policy must reckon with. The "struggle for peace" which the Moscow Comintern proclaimed as its guiding light at its Seventh Congress, and which ostensibly justified the Franco-Soviet pact and U.S.S.R. entry into the League of Nations, turned in reality into a struggle for imperialist war. The American League for Peace and Democracy (erstwhile League Against War and Fascism) became the leading exponents of "collective security" for the imperialist status quo. The crisis made clear that the "pacifism" of the masses, repeatedly evidenced in the United States by the figures of the Gallup poll and the support of the Ludlow Amendment, is well nigh universal. Even in France when the workers were brought face to face with the impending catastrophe of war, Stalinist propaganda rapidly lost influence. The struggle for peace must become one of the cornerstones of our policy. But we must convince the masses that the way to peace lies as little in "isolation" as in "collective security" and certainly does not lie in huge programs of rearmament. We must prove that the struggle for peace can be victorious only as a struggle for socialism, that it can be secured not by congressional resolutions or constitutional amendments, but by the working class conquest of power.

Maurice SPECTOR

The Labor Party in America, by Leon Trotsky

Published by Vanguard Publications, Toronto, ON (1973?)

(Reprinted from Educational Bulletin of May, 1948 mimeographed by S.W.P., New York: "Leon Trotsky on the Labor Party" -- on file)

Index:
1) Letter dated May 19, 1932
2) Discussion in April, 1938
3) Discussion in May, 1938
4) Conversation July 20, 1938

Pseudonyms:
Crux: Leon Trotsky
JPC: James P. Cannon, SWP leader
VRD: Vincent Dunne, veteran Trotskyist unionist, Minneapolis
SH: Max Schachtman, SWP leader

Some annotations/ by Ross Dowson: *(in **bold type** next to Trotsky's comments)*

Introduction:

''....of the need of the American labor movement to cut loose from the paralyzing two-party system maintained by Wall Street and enter the road of independent political actions'' **-but not reformist**

Page 1: Point 1: Trotsky: ''1. What was my idea about the 'labor party' ... not of a 'labor party' in the specific English sense .... but in the general European sense...'' **-party of the trade unions, party of the working class**

Page 2: ''But that eventuality which appears to me to be very **problematical *NB*** (that the American trade union bureaucracy will be forced ... to imitate the British trade union bureaucracy in creating a kind of party based on the trade unions)

Point 3: ''...a Marxist .... cannot present himself before the working class with two banners.... I have tickets for a first class party and other tickets cheaper for the stupid ones...'' **Very very good**.

Point 4: **by whom and why was the CCF and then NDP formed(? S. Smith (CPC 'theoretician') claimed CCF formed to block the CP but it was obviously a continuation of the populist movement out of bourgeois control** (An) important tradition of independent political action by the working class (as Chartism in England, for example)'' **this and the British Labour Party became part of the tradition of the Canadian workers (see Lipton's 'Agrarian Socialism.')**

Page 4: ''....it is evident that the possibility of participating in and of utilizing a 'labor party' movement would be greater in the period of its inception, that is, in the period when the party is not a party but an amorphic political mass movement. **Exactly the NDP**. (Trotsky: ***That we***

must participate in it at that time and with the greatest energy is without question, but not to help form a 'labor party' which will exclude us and fight against us but to push the progressive elements of the movement more and more to the left by our activity and propaganda. I know this seems too simple for the new great school which searches in every way for a method to jump over its feeble head."

Point 8: ***NB*** (On the nature of single-issue united fronts vs the permanent labor party, and on the necessity of independent spirit of communists: **hear hear Pat Jordan & ET** (*British comrades)</i>*

Point 10***: NB*** ''...the labor party (is) not 'our' party but as an arena in which we are acting as an absolutely independent communist Party.

Page 18: **Trotsky's reply to Schachtman**: (what is the timetable – ''is it possible American workers will conquer power in ten years? I will say yes, absolutely possible.... Naturally our advancing slogans depends upon the reaction we meet in the masses. We under-estimate the revolutionary movement in the working masses. We are a small organization, propagandistic, and in such situations are more sceptical than the masses...'')

Page 23: Trotsky (Crux) outlines the various types of development of the workers' political movement ***--NB***

Page 29: Trotsky (Crux): ''Before finishing – a correction in the formulation of the question: The labor party proposal is not a part of the program of transitional demands but is a special motion ''***See p. 37*** ''I believe that the most fighting elements in the trade unions should be our youth, who should **not oppose our movement to the labor party but go inside the labor party,** even a very opportunist labor party. They must be inside. That is their duty. That our young comrades s**eparate the transitional program from the labor party is understandable because the transitional program is an international question, but for the United States they are connected** – both questions – and I believe that some of our young comrades accept the transitional program without **good understanding of its meaning, for otherwise the formal separation (of labor party slogan from other demands)** of it would lose for them all importance. ''

Lenin on Imperialism

By LEON TROTSKY

February 1939

The eighteenth anniversary of Lenin's death (he died Janu ary 21, 1924) finds our planet engulfed in the second World War.

In the midst of the first world slaughter Lenin had predicted this second slaughter. Still more, he predicted that so long as imperialism survived world conflicts would unfailingly follow. Should imperialism also survive this present war, there will come a third, and a fourth. . . .

By means of the same scientific method which enabled him to predict the course of events under the continued rule of imperialism, Lenin arrived at a realistic program of struggle — the only program which offers society a way out from its impasse.

Lenin reached his maturity in the period of the first World War. His analysis of imperialist wars and the conclusions he drew from this analysis are among the greatest triumphs of Marx ism. It was the Leninist program against imperialism that paved the way for the victory of the Russian masses in October 1917. And this victory in its turn resulted in the termination of the first imperialist world war (emphasis by the Web Ed.)

No program other than Lenin's offers today salvation to mankind.

We can think of nothing more appropriate for 1942 than the publication of Trotsky's brilliant summary of the Leninist con clusions from the war of 1914-1918. The document was written by Leon Trotsky early in 1939. This is the first time it appears in English.— THE EDITORS (Note: from the monthly Fourth International*, published by the SWP-US, whose leaders were jailed for their opposition to this World War 2 which broke out when Hitler led Germany's invasion into Poland in September 1939).*

With the outbreak of the war in August 1914 the first question which arose was this: Should the socialists of imperialist countries assume the "defense of the fatherland"? The issue was not whether or not individual socialists should fulfill the obligations of soldiers — there was no other alter native, desertion is not a revolutionary policy. The issue was: Should socialist parties support the war politically? vote for the war budget? renounce the struggle against the government and agitate for the "defense of the fatherland?" Lenin's answer was: No! the party must not do so, it has no right to do so, not because *war* is involved but because this is *a reactionary* war, because this is a dog fight between the slave-owners for the redivision of the world.

The formation of national states on the European conti nent occupied an entire epoch which began approximately with the Great French Revolution and concluded with the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. During these dramatic decades the wars were predominantly of a national character. War waged for the creation or defense of national states necessary for the development of productive forces and of culture possessed during this period a profoundly progressive historical character. Revolutionists not only could but were obliged to support national wars politically.

From 1871 to 1914 European capitalism, on the founda tion of national states, not only flowered but outlived itself by becoming transformed into monopoly or imperialist capitalism. "Imperialism is that stage of capitalism when the latter after fulfilling everything in its power begins to de cline." The cause for decline lies in this, that the productive forces are equally fettered by the framework of private prop erty as well as the boundaries of the national state. Imperi alism seeks to divide and re-divide the world. In place of national wars there come imperialist wars. They are utterly reactionary in character and are an expression of the impasse, stagnation, and decay of monopoly capital.

The Reactionary Nature of Imperialism

The world, however, still remains very heterogeneous. The coercive imperialism of advanced nations is able to exist only because backward nations, oppressed nationalities, colo nial and semi-colonial countries remain on our planet. *The struggle of the oppressed peoples for national unification and national independence is doubly progressive because, on the one side, this prepares more favorable conditions for their own development while, on the other side, this deals blows to imperialism. That, in particular, is the reason why in the struggle between a civilized, imperialist, democratic republic and a backward, barbaric monarchy in a colonial country, the socialists are completely on the side of the oppressed country notwithstanding its monarchy and against the oppres sor country notwithstanding its "democracy." (emphasis by the Web Ed.)*

Imperialism camouflages its own peculiar aims — seizure of colonies, markets, sources of raw material, spheres of in fluence — with such ideas as "safeguarding peace against the aggressors," "defense of the fatherland," "defense of democ racy," etc. These ideas are false through and through. It is the duty of every socialist not to support them but, on the contrary, to unmask them before the people. "The question of which group delivered the first military blow or first declared war," wrote Lenin in March 1915, "has no importance whatever in determining the tactics of socialists. Phrases about the defense of the fatherland, repelling invasion by the enemy, conducting a defensive war, etc. are on both sides a complete deception of the people." "For decades," explained Lenin, "three bandits

(the bourgeoisies and governments of England, Russia and France) armed themselves to despoil Germany. Is it surprising that the two bandits (Germany and Austria-Hungary) launched an attack before the three bandits succeeded in obtaining the new knives they had or dered?"

The objective historical meaning of the war is of de cisive importance for the proletariat: What class is con ducting it? and for the sake of what? This is decisive and not the subterfuges of diplomacy by means of which the enemy can always be successfully portrayed to the people as an aggressor. Just as false are the references by imperialists to the slogans of democracy and culture. ". . . The German bourgeoisie . . . deceives the working class and the toiling masses by vowing that the war is being waged for the sake of . . . freedom and culture, for the sake of freeing the peoples oppressed by Czarism. The English and French bourgeoisies . . . deceive the working class and the toiling masses by vowing that they are waging war . . . against German militarism and despotism." A political super-struc ture of one kind or another cannot change the reactionary economic foundation of imperialism. On the contrary, it is the foundation which subordinates the super-structure to it self. "In our day . . . it is silly even to think of a progressive bourgeoisie, a progressive bourgeois movement. All bour geois 'democracy' . . . has become reactionary." This ap praisal of imperialist "democracy" constitutes the cornerstone of the entire Leninist conception.

Since war is waged by both imperialist camps not for the defense of the fatherland or democracy but for the re-division of the world and colonial enslavement, a socialist has no right to prefer one bandit camp to another. Abso lutely in vain is any attempt to "determine, from the stand point of the international proletariat, whether the defeat of one of the two warring groups of nations would be a lesser evil for socialism." In the very first days of September 1914, Lenin was already characterizing the content of the war for each of the imperialist countries and for all the groupings as follows: "The struggle for markets and for plundering foreign lands, the eagerness to head off the revo lutionary movement of the proletariat and to crush democracy within each country, the urge to deceive, divide and crush the proletarians of all countries, to incite the wage slaves of one nation against the wage slaves of another nation for the profits of the bourgeoisie — that is the only real content and meaning of the war." How far removed is all this from the current doctrine of Stalin, Dimitrov and Co.!

* * *

It is impossible to fight against imperialist war by sigh ing for peace after the fashion of the pacifisms. "One of the ways of fooling the working class is pacifism and the abstract propaganda of peace. Under capitalism, especially in its imperialist stage, wars are inevitable." A peace con cluded by imperialists would only be a breathing spell before a new war. Only a revolutionary mass struggle against war and against imperialism which

breeds war can secure a real peace. "Without a number of revolutions the so-called democratic peace is a middle-class Utopia."

The struggle against the narcotic and debilitating illu sions of pacifism enters as the most important element into Lenin's doctrine. He rejected with especial hostility the demand for "disarmament as obviously Utopian under capitalism." *(Note however the central demand of the Western anti-war movement of the 1960s for "unilateral disarmament" as an effective means of countering the threat of imperialist nuclear war and deflecting anti-Soviet propaganda -- Web Ed.)*

* * *

The Roots of Social-Chauvinism

Most of the labor parties in the advanced capitalist countries turned out on the side of their respective bour geoisies during the war. Lenin named this tendency as *social-chauvinism:* socialism in words, chauvinism in deeds. The betrayal of internationalism did not fall from the skies but came as an inevitable continuation and development of the policies of reformist adaptation. "The ideological-politi cal content of opportunism and of social-chauvinism is one and the same: class collaboration instead of class struggle, support of one's 'own' government when it is in difficulties instead of utilizing these difficulties for the revolution."

The period of capitalist prosperity immediately prior to the last war — from 1909 to 1913 — tied the upper layers of the proletariat very closely with imperialism. From the super-profits obtained by the imperialist bourgeoisie from colonies and from backward countries in general, juicy crumbs fell to the lot of the labor aristocracy and labor bureaucracy. In consequence, their patriotism was dictated by direct self-interest in the policies of imperialism. During the war which laid bare all social relations "the opportunists and chauvinists were invested with a gigantic power because of their alliance with the bourgeoisie, with the government and with the General Staffs."

The intermediate and perhaps the widest tendency in socialism is the so-called center (Kautsky *et al.)* who vacil lated in peace time between reformism and Marxism and who, while continuing to cover themselves with broad pacifist phrases, became almost without exception the captives of social-chauvinists. So far as the masses were concerned they were caught completely off guard and duped by their own apparatus which had been created by them in the course of decades. After giving a sociological and political appraisal of the labor bureaucracy of the Second International, Lenin did not halt midway. "Unity with opportunists is the alliance of workers with their 'own' national bourgeoisie and signifies a split in the ranks of the international revolutionary work ing

class." Hence flows the conclusion that internationalists must break with the social-chauvinists. "It is impossible to fulfill the tasks of socialism at the present time; it is impos sible to achieve a genuine international fusion of workers without decisively breaking with opportunism ..." as well as with centrism, "this bourgeois tendency in socialism." The very name of the party must be changed. "Isn't it better to cast aside the name of 'Social-Democrats' which has been smeared and degraded and to return to the old Marxist name of Communists ?" It is time to break with the Second Inter national and to build the Third. *(Thus wrote Lenin in 1914 at the outbreak of the First World War, as Trotsky here emphasizes, without mentioning that he himself had just issued the call for a Fourth International in 1938 -- Web Ed.)*

* * *

What has changed in the twenty odd years that have since elapsed? Imperialism has assumed an even more vio lent and oppressive character. Its most consistent expres sion is fascism. Imperialist democracies have fallen several rungs lower and are themselves evolving into fascism natu rally and organically. *(As)* colonial oppression becomes the more intolerable, all the sharper is the awakening and eagerness of oppressed nationalities for national independence. In other words, all those traits which were lodged in the foundation of Lenin's theory of imperialist war have now assumed a far more graphic and sharp character.

To be sure, communo-chauvinists refer to the existence of the USSR which supposedly introduces a complete over turn into the politics of the international proletariat. To this one can make the following brief reply: Before the USSR arose, there existed oppressed nations, colonies, etc. whose struggle also merited support. If revolutionary and progressive movements beyond the boundaries of one's own country could be supported by supporting one's own imperialist bour geoisie then the policy of social-patriotism was in principle correct. There was no reason, then, for founding the Third International. This is one side of the case, but there is also another. The USSR has now been in existence for twenty-two years. For seventeen years the principles of Lenin re mained in force. Communo-chauvinist policies took shape only four *(or)* five years ago. The argument from the existence of the USSR is therefore only a false cover.

If a quarter of a century ago Lenin branded as social-chauvinism and as social treachery the desertion of socialists to the side of their nationalist imperialism under the pretext of defending culture and democracy, then from the stand point of Lenin's principles the very same policy today is all the more criminal. It is not difficult to guess how Lenin would have designated the present day leaders of the Comin tern who have revived all the

sophistries of the Second Inter national under the conditions of an even more profound decomposition of capitalist civilization.

There is a pernicious paradox in this, that the wretched epigones of the Comintern, who have turned its banner into a dirty rag with which to wipe away the tracks of the Krem lin oligarchy, call those "renegades" who have remained true to the teachings of the founder of the Communist Interna tional. Lenin was right: The ruling classes not only perse cute great revolutionists during their lifetime but revenge themselves upon them after they are dead by measures even more refined, trying to turn them into ikons whose mission is to preserve "law and order." No one is, of course, under compulsion to take his stand on the ground of Lenin's teach ings. But we, his disciples, will permit no one to make mock ery of these teachings and to transform them into their very opposite!

February 1939.

Extract from "EARLE BIRNEY: A life," by Elspeth Cameron (Viking, 1974)

Also see below re: Birney resignation: Excerpts from James P. Cannon: The Struggle for a Proletarian Party, Pioneer Publishers, 1943)

Cameron on "Earle Birney: A Life:"

"Though he could not air his political views in the *(literary periodical magazine Canadian) Forum,* Birney was deeply engaged in Trotskyist activities. One of the first people he contacted on his return from England was Joe Hansen from his Utah days, the carpenter who had been an important member of the Trotskyist group there,* and at whose workshop full of coffins (…) Hansen had brought him up to date on the American political scene. And he had also contacted his comrades in Vancouver and met with them later during the summer after he completed his Ph.D. while he taught summer school there. Drawing on the expertise he had gained in underground political activities from the Johnstones in Toronto, then in Vancouver, Utah and London, and still using his pseudonym 'Robertson' he had set up in Toronto a Trotskyist group—called the "Socialist Policy Group" in imitation of the English Marxist Group in the ILP which he and Esther had belonged to—with hopes of developing it into a significant support for the Fourth International. In a document called 'Thesis Adopted by the Executive Committee of the Canadian Boishevist-Leninists for a Fourth International: National Political Perspective,' dated May 1938 and signed 'Robertson,' Birney outlined the Canadian economic and political scene from a Trotskyist perspective and described the group he and Esther had initiated as a cell within the CCF" *(*Hansen became a central leader of the US-SWP based in New York. Hansen later became part of a security guard of Trotsky in Mexico – Ed.)*

1."The Socialist Policy Group was formed in April this year as a legal organization within the Ontario CCF under cover of which the 4th Internationalists in the CCF carry on their activity. Originating as an educational group, the SPG has gradually changed its character into a militant left-wing which is now in the process of 1) adopting revolutionary positions on every question of national and international importance ;2) waging a relentless political struggle against the reformist bureaucracy; 3) exposing the reactionary politics and opportunist tactics of Stalinist stooges within the CCF; 4) of publishing fortnightly an international mimeographed organ, the *Socialist Action*, bringing our point of view to the membership.

2."While the SPG has as yet attracted few revolutionary elements to its line, nevertheless it is felt that as the inevitable fight with the bureaucracy gets underway, all genuine left wingers will be drawn into the struggle in our support, although in the end they may not follow us out. It would be futile to attempt to set a date for leaving the CCF: this will be determined by the course of events, the tactics of the bureaucracy and the influence of the SPG in the membership. So long as we are allowed complete freedom to propagate our revolutionary ideas among the members and thereby spread our influence, unnecessarily provoking our expulsion would be pointless. On the other hand any paralysing curtailment of our freedom in the CCF, the outlawing of the SPG or banning the Socialist Action e.g. would premise a political struggle culminating in the formation of an Independent section of the 4th International.

"Until recently the SPG was confined solely to Toronto where most of our forces lie. However steps have already been taken to transform it into a national tendency by the formation of a similar group in Vancouver, B.C. The tempo of our work in Toronto or Vancouver would not be hampered by developments in either city owing to the nature of the national CCF as a loose federation of practically autonomous provincial organizations. Under such circumstances the expulsion from the CCF of our comrades in Toronto would not exclude our Vancouver group remaining in the CCF until local conditions warranted a split. *(Note 21)* Under pseudonyms too, he published articles n radical left-wing American journals using radical left-wing rhetoric. In the September issue of the *New International (the theoretical journal of the SWP, New York –Ed.)* for example, he published a long statistics-ridden article situating Canada's economic and political position in a global context called 'The Land of the Maple Leaf is the Land of Monopoly: Canada and World Politics.' *(Note 22-* In it he argued that there was "no other country in the world where finance capitalism is so centralized." And, despite his position at the *Forum* with its CCF orientation, he took direct swipes at the CCF. 'The 'Socialist' CCF,' he fulminated, 'has in its five years of existence reflected the same national ambIguity, playing ball both with isolationists and with collective security. Because (its) still loose federation its followers are treated to the spectacle of its seven federal parliamentary representatives alternately supporting pacifism and the hypothetical wars of the League [of Nations].'

"And whevever he could, he slid his political views into his classes. And whenever he could (…) Birney was widely appreciated for his dramatic readings of Chaucer—especially the bawdy *fabliaux*.

"Like water finding its level, Birney had initiated and seized the leadership of the Social Policy Group and had simultaneously risen at the *Forum* to the central position of literary influence in the country. If only he could also secure a university position, he would have felt that he had at last assumed his rightful place. To this end he had begun immediately on his return from England to. employ his academic network not only on behalf of the *Forum,* but also in the interests of his career as an academic (...)*"*
(end of extract, pp.170-2)

Note 21: "Theses adopted by the EC of the Canadian Bolshevik-Leninists of the Fourth International: National Political Perspectives, May 1938- Fisher Rare Book Library, U.of Toronto)

Note 22: "Conversations with Trotsky" - unpublished ms. National Library of Canada)

Excerpts from James P. Cannon: "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party," Pioner Publisheers, 1943:

"A Letter to Leon Trotsky, New York, Jan. 18, 1940 'Dear Comrade Trotsky: I am enclosing herewith Comrade Burnham's comments on your recent article on the petty-bourgeois opposition *(in the SWP-Ed.)*

"I think you received a copy of the notice about 'a Burnham graduate.' Yesterday we received information about another. Robertson *(Earle Birney)*, the leader of the minority in Canada—a large majority there is firmly on our side—sent a letter of resignation to the party. The reasons are priceless. First, he does not want to defend the Soviet Union any more; second, he feels the 'dispair' of the isolated petty-bourgeois intellectual (he is also by some strange chance a professor); and third, he is very much afraid that an American government with Cannon at the head of it would be just as ruthless as Stalin..."

"A Letter to C. Thomas, San Francisco, Ca., Jan. 22, 1943: 'As you will see from the enclosed circular, we already have a Burnham gradute number two *(after SWP leader Shachtman—Ed.).* The leader of the

minority in Canada has just walked out of the Fourth International and—purely incidentally of course—out of the line of fire for the duration of the war."

"A Letter to Leon Trotsky: Feb. 22, 1940: 'One extremely important point which I did not touch on in my other letter is the situation in the International... the Canadian section supports the majority with practical unanimity. The one supporter of the minority in the leadership, Robertson, resigned from the movement with a shameful capitulatory statement.'

"A Letter to Leon Trotsky, March 7, 1940: 'We will conttact the Canadian section and are assured of their complete support. After the ignominious departure of the Canadian Burnham (Robertson), the few comrades in Canada who had wavered on the fundamental question drew the necessary conclusions and the latest report we had is that they are all now unanimous in support of the program...
Fraternally, J.P. Cannon.'"

The War, Women & Industry

(handwritten notes by RD)

Apparent date: during WW2 (text indicates 1941)

When the Normans of William the Conqueror struggled with Harold's serfs on the fields of Hastings - even in ancient tribal wards the women took man's place in the fields and the hunting parties until the hunting grounds were once more large enough to sustain the tribe, or the bounty was safely tucked away in the baron's treasure chests. And again women returned to her former position in society, to slavery and drudgery, to back-breaking work in the fields, to human incubation, to pounding of the grain and the gathering of wood.

Then came the industrial and bourgeois revolutions, the development of the factory system, the growth of monopoly and imperialism, the contracting of the world market and the industrial competition of the East - the wars of 1914-18 (and) 140 --? And women with man was not released from her slavery and drudgery but was shackelled to the machine

The war of 1914-18 with its demand for female labor caused by the formation of huge armies of men for trench warfare cut the threads of the moral code and even virtuous women took their place in industry - in the field planting and harvesting, in the factories operating the machines, in the streets running the buses. But when the territories of the imperialists were once more large enough to sustain their appetites for a period and the booty was safety tucked away in their treasure chests, woman did not return as before to her former position in society - no - woman became a permanent factor in industry - a permanent wage slave. Prior to 1914 in the United States over 75% of all women in manufacturing were in 5 industries (textiles, apparel, food, tobacco and hand & foot wear). By Nov. (19)18 steel plants covered by survey gained 16,000 women while the spinning, weaving and knitting mills lost over 10,000 women. Likewise there was an increase of the percentage of women employed in aircraft (construction) from .4% to 23% from 1914-Nov.'18. Not only did women move away from textiles etc. into new fields of industry but they took over jobs which required skill and experience. In the metal trades 37,683 women substituted for men in the 278 firms covered by survey. Ninety-one firms employed women on lathes in men's places and 83 firms reported on their work as follows: 10% said (the) project (was) a failure, 5% reported work as good or better than men while more than half the firms reporting keep(ing) women as lathe operators after the signing of armistice. And while it is true that 9 months after armistice the no(number of) women employed in the 4 leading war agent and implement industries had dropped to 43.3% of pre-armistice numbers at the same time the no(number) of men employed dropped to 61.5% of pre-armistice force. Not only did woman enter industries where she had never been before but she entered industries where skill and experience were required and what is most important, retained and even increased her numbers in these industries after the emergencies which open the doors to entry that passed away. The

Canadian figures substantiate the American findings. In the post-war years of 1921-31 when industry was relatively stable for a capitalist economy, the population increase for Canada was 18%; however the percentage of females gainfully occupied 10 years and over increased 36%.

As individuals, women have a more or less broken industrial life but as a group are a permanent part of the labor supply and even as individuals due to the prolonged depression period of 1929-40 fewer numbers break their industrial life through marriage, pregnancy or retirement. This can best be shown by a breakdown of the number of females gainfully occupied (11 years and over) in Canada into single or married groups.

In the period 1921-31 there was a 36% increase in the number of females gainfully occupied and only an 18% pop(ulation) gain. While the single women comprise by far the largest group, over 80%, their number during this period gained only 33% while the percentage of married women gainfully occupied increased 90%.

In the United States in 1920 a quarter of the total of the number of women working were married and 15% of the women aged 45 years and over were in industry. Married women and women over 45 are obviously a stable section of the employed population.

(In the) Early days of Canadian industry when the country was one of less limited opportunity, workers left trades that dissatisfied them, with new (frontiers?) many opened up (their) own shops, or when grievances were many, walked out . (An) organization might or might not be formed and if it was as soon as grievances disappeared, the union died.

Today male workers are stuck in industry, in spite of yokel boy makes good stories (and they) can't walk out or go out to the frontier or bum jobs around. So are women stuck in industry.

Not 'til the 80's did working men consider (them)selves as a permanent class of workers and so developed trade unions. Industry needed a permanent group of wage slaves (and) brought in many settlers. With permanent wage earners came the necessity of permanent trade unions as protection. Women in industry were not permanent. Today as individuals they are subject to a more or less broken industrial life, but as a group (they) are permanent part of the labor supply.

The emergencies of 1915-20 made possible extensive unionism among semi-skilled and unskilled trades - textile, packing houses, metal trades, seamen. Industrial depression marked a falling off of many of these Women concentrated in so-called unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. Over 60% of women gainfully employed in 1920 were in trades, professional service, domestic and personal service and clerical occupations - only about 25% of the male

working population are engaged in these trades (at this time.) Women (are) not in strategic industries - mines, railway, building (but what about metal? --RD)

With the depression women not only as a group became permanent in industry but even individually - supporting the male by their jobs. Women got the vote and (there was) no notable change in the political life of the country. (It is) particularly true of women's unions that they were conceived through a strike; women organize in (an) emergency. Old constitutional clauses barring women from positions must be removed. Women should pay the same dues as men, thus (there will be) no recognition of their low wages as permanent.

(Notes -- Un-numbered page)

In all the wars prior to 1940 --?, the American civil war, the Great War of 1914-18 etc., women took her place in industry because of the shortage of male labor, large numbers of the men being forced into army service.

Today in Great Britain where millions of men have been conscripted to defend the far-flung outposts of British Imperialism, the Unemployment exchanges report for the Feb. period 277,301 female unemployed and 303,548 male unemployed - these numbers by no means constitute the total of unemployed workers.

In one Canadian munitions plant 2500 women are employed and only 1500 men. Women taxi cab drivers are making their appearance and on Canadian streets gasoline attendants are delivery girls. Throughout Canada women are rapidly increasing their numbers in the factories, working the night shifts and taking over jobs which heretofore had always been handled by men. Not only in the war industries but even in the textile trades which have for years been a stronghold of female labor. The Weldrest Hosiery employees at Toronto are on strike because the men knitters are losing their jobs to women. In the Dominion Provincial Emergency War Training, of the 3,688 in training for the month ending January 31, 1941 - 306 were female and of the 3,382 males only 828 were sponsored or guaranteed jobs. Of the 306 females 224 were guaranteed jobs. Of the 9,277 afforded training in the industrial classes, only 1,702 were placed in employment.

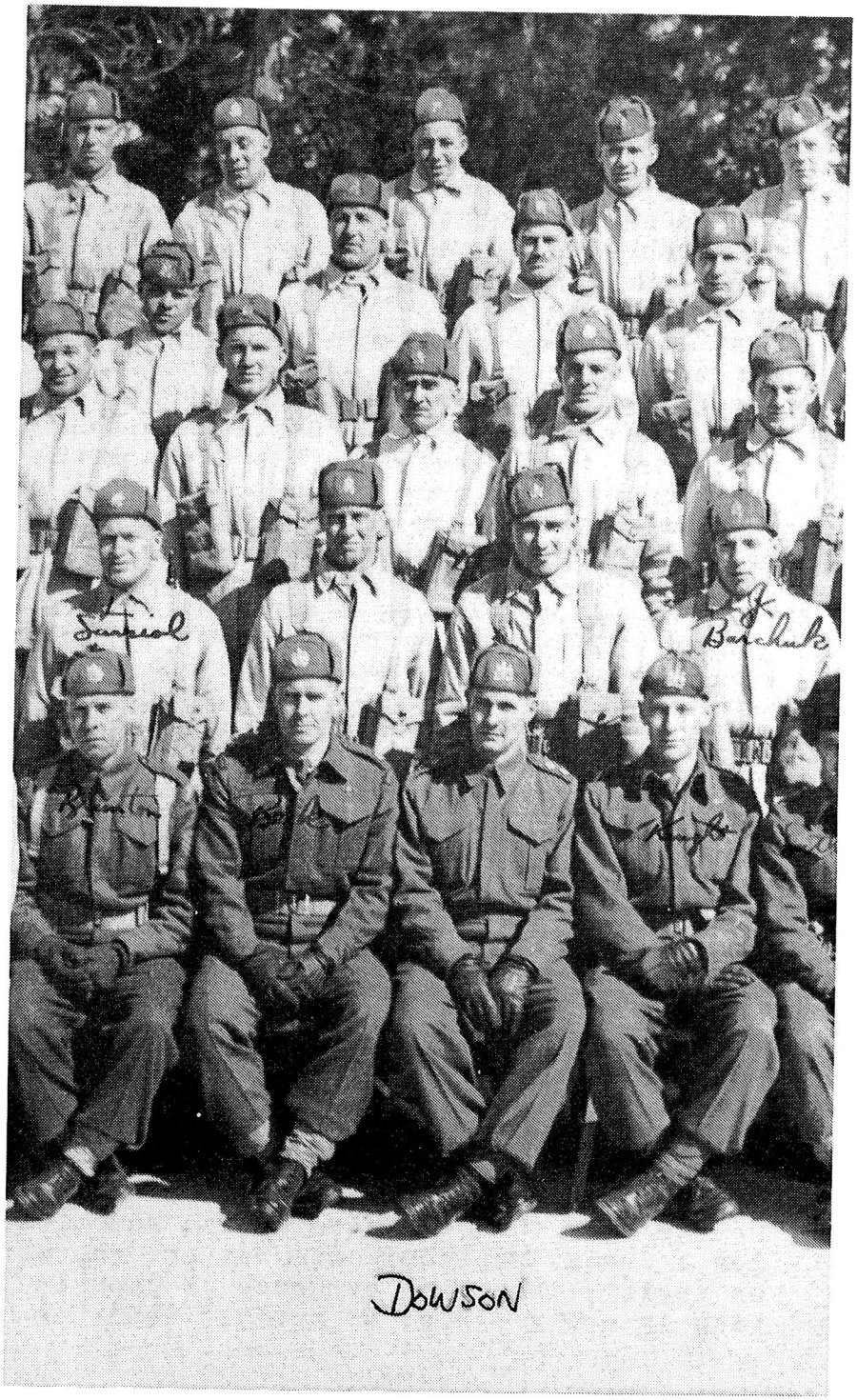
What's behind all this? Why are women entering industry so rapidly and taking over men's jobs? Is there a shortage of male labor? In the United States there are still over 5 million unemployed. Unemployment figures are available in Canada only through the trade unions that submit reports to the government. The unions reporting for March had a membership of 280,671. Of that membership 6.6% were without employment on April 1st and the organized workers in Canada are the highly skilled workers.

Under the pressure of events even the deep-rooted prejudices of the bourgeoisie against female labor are swept aside. In their haste to swell and pluck the war profits and to capture the markets of Orient from Hitler's forced and Japan's coolie labor, they too must search for cheaper labor. Woman constitutes the cheap labor market. Woman is the unorganized worker.

Findings of a test conducted at the Cheney Silk Works in Pennsylvania showed that men produced 65.37% quantity, women 50%. Men produced 30.74% more than women but women

came 2.42% nearer perfect quality in spite of this. The average earnings of women in industry vary from one-half to three-quarters of that of men. In Germany the Krupps and Siemens used the fascist party to crush the workers trade unions and force the German workers to accept miserable wages; women were told their place was in the home raising children for cannon-fodder. In Canada we have a free labor market, free to work at low wages. At present the capitalists consider the fascist movement a luxury, empowered as they are with the Industrial Disputes Act and the Defence of Canada Regulations, but another tool that they are wielding to lower the present standard of living is women labor.

No longer can the trade union movement allow the slogan of equal work equal wages to remain a statute on the constitution. Industrial unionism was a big step in the right direction. To organize women labor is a life and death problem to Canadian trade unionism.



1944

"THE PROBLEM OF FRENCH CANADA"

''R. Dowson, Fall 1945'' *(Handwritten note) (sub-heads added–Web ed.)*

Up until recently the problem of French Canada has received scant study by our movement. Neglect of this question leaves a serious gap in the development of a revolutionary program for the Canadian workers.

In order to understand the problem and its significance it is necessary to make a short historical sketch of the development of French Canada.

The feudal régime of Old France was transposed to the New World in the early 17th century. Large estates and land grants were bestowed on the French nobility, merchants and ecclesiastical organizations and a tight fisted feudal economy with its cens and rentes, banalité, tithes etc. was imposed on the settlers.

How the British conquest kept feudal elements in place to this day

The British conquest in 1759 replaced many of the departed seigneurs with English merchants and officers and sought as a base for the subjection of the country the support of the Church and the remaining French seigneurs whose feudal claims they guaranteed. The seigneurial system was gradually abolished by a long succession of acts extending from 1822 to 1940 – The motive power for its abolition arose from the oppressed habitant and the merchant seigneurs who wished to destroy ''the held in trust tenure'' and open the vast territories for capitalist exploitation.

Feudal money tribute which is being paid even to this day and what is more the right of banalité (ownership of mills, presses etc. by the seigneurs only) and corvée has been the legacy of the French Canadian habitant; a legacy of backwardness and fetters to the development of the whole of French Canada. The following figures give one an idea of the retardation of capitalist development in Quebec agriculture. The proportional role of agriculture and industry in Quebec and Ontario is almost equal. Agriculture in Quebec accounts for 15.5% of the total value of production and gives employment to 22.2% or 254,280. In Ontario it accounts for 18.67% of total value or production and gives employment to 264,480 or 17.7% of population. With an occupied farm population only 2.5% less than Ontario, Quebec agriculture receives less than one half as large a cash income, employs one half as much permanent wage labor and utilizes machinery of a value one half as great as Ontario. Feudalism with its banalité, cens and rentes and corvée (labor for the seigneurs) raised enormous barriers to the natural development of capitalism in French Canada by its hindrance to free wage labor commodity circulation etc.

The clergy in the interests of the tithe, cheap farm labor and its religious hegemony attempted to keep the people on the land but the land monopoly and the increasing population limited to a self contained economy produced insolvable

contradictions. Immigration to the United States and the Canadian West was the only outlet. With the opening of the 20th century and a tremendous industrial expansion the landless French Canadians were absorbed. The rural population from 1891 to 1931 has remained stationery, the population increase being absorbed by the towns and factories. Quebec presented monopoly capitalism with tremendous numbers of wage laborers ignorant, unschooled and under the oppressive thumb of the church combined with unequalled natural resources.

A concentration of monopolies thrives amid a weak French Canadian petit-bourgeoisie and a super-exploited working class

The Canadian economy is in the merciless grip of an unparalleled concentration of monopolies. In Quebec, monopoly capitalism has found its richest field of exploitation. In 1938 less than 2% of the total number of establishments in Quebec held 67% of the total capital, employed 41.9% of the industrial workers and accounted for 58.4% of manufactured production. Quebec which for 200 years was fettered by the seigneurial system today closely parallels Ontario in production. The 1931 census disclosed that two thirds of her population is urban. In 1936 of 147 establishments employing over 500 in Canada, 62 were in Quebec and 70 in Ontario. In 1940 manufacturing accounted for 56.2% of Quebec`s total production compared to 57.3% in Ontario. The war with the development of the world`s largest aluminum plant, aircraft units and shipyards has upset these figures in Quebec's favor.

Monopoly, an inevitable development of capitalism has been preeminent in maintaining nationalistic sentiment within French Canada. ''Down with the trusts'' is the rallying call of all French Canadian political parties for the trusts in Quebec are foreign trusts being predominately non-French. The frustrated petit-bourgeoisie sees their enemy in the trusts. Feudalism retarded the growth of French Canadian capitalism and gave English Canadian capitalism, with all its connections, an open road. In 1937 it was estimated that the proportional division of industrial capital in Quebec was 44% English-Canadian, 34% U.S., 19.8% French Canadian. Out of 861 directorates in the 83 largest banking and industrial firms in Quebec, 93 or 10.8% are held by French Canadian businessmen. There is a small but nonetheless powerful handful of French Canadian millionaires fully integrated in the top circles of the Canadian bourgeoisie. Technical and managerial staffs in industry are predominantly English Canadian and English-speaking.

Monopoly capitalism pyramided on the feudal aftermath has made of Quebec a hellhole of poverty, disease and corruption. Quebec labor is the most exploited labor in the Dominion of Canada. The French Canadian worker's inferior economic position to that of his fellow Anglo-Canadian worker can only be understood as a form of national oppression.

Per capita income - and Retail sales 1940

Canada	$240	$218
Ontario	530	267
Quebec	358	135

Comparison of wages and hours 1941 *(slightly abridged - ed.)*

	Montreal Que.	Quebec City	Brantford Ont	Toronto
Bricklayers	$ .92/ 44 hrs	$. 85/ 44-48 hrs	$1.00/ 44 hrs	$1.13/ 40 hrs
Plumbers	.90/ 44 hrs	.65/ 44-48 hrs	.75/ 44 hrs	1.10/ 40 hrs
Civic Empl.	.40/ 48 hrs	. 45/ 48 hrs		.63/ 44 hrs
Factory labor	.44/ 54 hrs	.35/ 59 hrs	.45/ 55 hrs	.63/ 48 hrs

Percentage of Female workers earning less than $1000		Males
Quebec	92.7%	59.2%
Ontario	76.5%	48.9%

Average weekly earnings in Quebec and Ontario industries

	Quebec		Ontario	
Sector	Male	Female	Male	Female
Pulp & Paper	29.00	11.46	30.67	15.30
Cotton Yarn & Cloth	17.62	12.06	21.61	15.44
Primary Iron & Steel	25.16	16.12	30.89	18.54

In 1941 the death rate from TB per 100,000 population was 26 in Ontario, 80.6 in Quebec. In Westmount, Quebec, a well-do-do English residential district, it was 30.7; in Rimouski, Quebec it was 542.2.

Infant mortality per 1000 live births in Ontario was 45.6; in Quebec 75.9. In Three Rivers Quebec in 1937 it was 297. In Bombay India in 1936 it was 250.

The British after their successful military conquest made the church and the loyal seigneurs their base of control over the still rebellious habitant. These were the organs that counteracted any collaboration with the American colonial struggle for independence - the organs that diverted the struggle of 1837 from the land problems into parliamentary reforms. The church whose tremendous land holdings were respected by the British became the largest accumulation of primary capital in Quebec. Today she has large investments in railways, newspapers, factories etc. - it has been estimated that her holdings total over 600 millions.

Because of her large holdings the church was a violent enemy of those who would destroy feudal relationships and is today a most energetic partisan of capitalist enterprise. Education, controlled by the church as been of a clerical classical nature developing few technicians or tradesmen. Compulsory education for children up to 14 years was only

introduced in 1943. The women's vote and recognition of her legal rights were likewise passed by the Quebec house *(l'Assemblée nationale -ed.)* quite recently (when?) In Ontario there are 468 public libraries, in Quebec there are 27 and only 9 of these are French. Illiteracy in Quebec is double that of Ontario. The church supported by both the Anglo- and French-Canadian bourgeoisie has been the most powerful force in blocking the development of the French Canadian peoples - the most powerful force in the maintenance of the low wage level and the isolation of the French Canadian worker from the development of his Anglo-Canadian brother.

The almost total absence of a French Canadian middle-class, of French Canadian technicians etc. which English Canadian and American capital could use as a base in their exploitation has caused the question of tongue to assume great importance. Anglo-American trusts, their company towns and their English-speaking manager and foreman communities, are, to the French Canadians, foreign encampments on Quebec soil. While 30% of the population of Canada is French only 14% of the functionaries at Ottawa are bilingual. The BNA Act supposedly provides for the equality of the 2 languages and guarantees minority rights by the federal government. New Brunswick, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario have prohibited the French the right to educate their children in their language in the schools. Bilingualism in the English schools in Quebec is a farce. The inferior economic position of the French Canadian worker inevitably gives his tongue an inferior status.

The artificial unity of Canada and the right of Quebec to self-determination

The unity of Canada is an artificial unity neither conforming to her economy or peoples. It was born of the fear of the expansionist ambitions of the United States and the railway plunderers' desire for greater credits. The unity of Canada and her borders are not sacred to revolutionary socialists. Lenin inscribed on the banners of Marxism the right of oppressed minorities to self-determination. We stand by the right of French Canadians to self-determination. To reject this slogan as one which will atomize the workers or as a slogan that runs counter to that of a Socialist United States of America would be false. Socialism will never be built on a subjugated peoples.

''Victorious socialism must achieve complete democracy and consequently not only bring about complete equality of nations but also give effect to the right of oppressed nations to self-determination - i.e., the right to free political secession. Socialist parties which fail to prove by all their activities now - as well as during the revolution and after its victory that they will free the enslaved nations and establish relations with them on the basis of a free union - and a free union is a lying phrase without right to secession - such parties would be committing treachery to socialism'' - Lenin.

But does that mean that today we raise the slogan of self-determination as an agitational slogan or only as a programmatic one which will possibly become agitational in the future.

A strong nationalist sentiment bent under reactionary and clerical hegemony

There is today in French Canada a strong nationalist sentiment – its most popular expression until the last election was the Bloc Populaire. While there is no close unity of thought or action in the nationalist movement there is complete unanimity against separatism. When the parliamentary nationalist freebooters approach the elections they all proclaim adherence to confederation.

Duplessis, Sept. 20, 1948:

> ''Some people say we shouldn`t talk about autonomy. They are under the impression that we want to build a wall around Quebec and separate it from the other provinces. All we want is control of the rights given us in the Confederation Constitution of 1967.''

Feb. 5, 1944:

> ''The Bloc called for absolute independence for Canada, the abolition of appeals to the Privy Council, the severance of all links obliging the submitting of Constitutional changes to England, admission of Canada to the Pan American union.

Aug. 3, 1944 – Laurendeau:

> ''The Bloc does not want to destroy confederation or set up a totalitarian or clerical state. We are living in a unique moment to get rid of financial imperialism and capitalist dictatorship in order to give back to the province and the whole of Canada a true democracy.''

In order to obtain a real picture of the nationalist movement it is not sufficient to see it as it characterizes itself today nor is it sufficient to analyze it as it stands now. It is necessary to understand its past in order to appreciate its future. The nationalist movement does and has contained the most reactionary elements in Canadian political life varying from the avowed Fascism of Adrian Arcand to Dubuc's ''Buy at Home Movement'' and La Jeunesse Patriote's ''Laurentia.'' Its foundation is the church which wishes to shelter the French Canadian people from the more politically and socially conscious Anglo Canadians in order to retain her religious hegemony. The national bourgeoisie and the religious orders possessing large land holdings and industrial investments wish to return and further depress the French Canadian workers' and farmers' low wage level and standard of living. In this task they receive substantial aid from Anglo

Canadian capital. Anglo Canadian capital supports the cloistering of the French Canadian peoples (and) endorses the supremacy of the Catholic church and supports as the lesser evil the Catholic Syndicates *(unions - ed.)* Anglo Canadian and American capital are friends of French Canadian Nationalism.

How does the nationalist movement find support among the French Canadian masses? By a skillful mixture of demagogy, lies and progressive demands, it feeds on their justified discontent. It receives most of its support from its violent anti-trust, anti-monopoly campaigns. The French Canadian bourgeoisie and their agents oppose the exploitation of the French Canadian workers by the trusts - the foreign trusts - in order that they may be the sole exploiter. And what in a positive sense do the nationalists offer to block this inevitable development of capitalism - legal restrictions. Buy at Home Movement in trustified Quebec, return to an agrarian self-sustaining economy, etc. French Canadian revolutionists must expose the futility and the reactionary aspect of the nationalist anti-trustism. Turn the French Canadians anti-trustism to anti-capitalism! The traditional anti-militarist, anti-imperialist sentiment of the French Canadian worker is utilized by the nationalists who have no foreign investments at stake and who wax fat on the production of the workers in the war industries. This sentiment must be developed to organize a struggle against imperialist war along revolutionary lines *(document cut off, no carbon paper - ed.)*

The essential character of the nationalist movement is that it is negative and opportunistic. It feeds on the justified dissatisfaction of the workers and farmers only to divert their revolutionary potential up backwaters. It dare not strike at the roots of language, cultural and wage discrimination for they are entwined around the keystone of the social order – capitalism. Wherever the nationalist movement has come out with positive demands and solutions it has exposed its social origins. Arcand – The Corporative State – Anti-semitism, etc. Dubuc – Buy at Home – further lower the standard of living – La Jeunesse Patriote – Laurentia – Back to the church and a peasant economy. The nationalist elements were the opposition to the women's vote and the compulsory education act, were the supporters of the Padlock Law and are the friends of the Catholic Syndicates.

No progressive ends served by the secession of Quebec at this time

What progressive ends would be achieved by the secession of the French Canadian peoples from Confederation at this time? The answer is obviously none. The relative strength of reactionary forces within the French state would be increased and a comparatively new and inexperienced working class would be isolated from the mainstream of labor development. At this period to support a policy of secession would be to play into the hands of reaction. We cannot bind ourselves to support a policy of secession under all circumstances. Situations may arise where this will be employed by the bourgeoisie for reactionary ends - thus in the case of an impending revolutionary

situation in English Canada both the English and French capitalists may attempt to split away Quebec and salvage their system there. In this situation we would fight against secession. But regardless whether we advocate secession at a given moment or not we recognize the right of the French Canadians masses to decide for themselves.

However the sentiment that the nationalist movement exploits is essentially progressive – that is the desire for language and cultural equality, the opposition to racial discrimination, the demand for wage equality etc. We support democratic rights, the democratic demands of the French Canadian peoples. We are resolutely opposed to Anglo-American and French capitalism's use of French Canada as a cheap labor market – we are opposed to discrimination in the shops.

For a militant and unified trade union movement of both English and French workers. Down with the Catholic Syndicates! We demand the complete separation of the Church and State – the complete severance of church interference in education. The hostility to the trusts and the opposition to the war offer the revolutionary socialist movement particularly fine opportunities to develop wide support. Turn anti-trustism into anti-capitalism! Workers control of the war industries! Expropriation of all war profits!

The problems of the French Canadian workers will not be solved in the framework of the bourgeois state. The fate of the French Canadian workers and farmers is irrevocably bound up with the fate of the rest of Canada's workers and farmers. Socialism is the order of the day. A socialist Canada and a Socialist United States of America is the future.

(end)

The R.W.P. and internationalism

(*From R.D.'s speech notes found in 1947)*

In the past 6 or 7 months, the Revolutionary Workers Party, the RWP, through various spokesmen, has analyzed and discussed many aspects of the Canadian and international scene. We have dealt on this platform with the coming depression in Canada. We have also dealt with the lessons of the great strike wave of last summer and fall, but predominantly we have discussed the lessons of the class struggle as it unfolds in England, France and occupied Europe, as well as India, Indonesia and so forth – generally, the problems and tasks confronting the world working class.

Our movement has always been distinguished for its internationalism, for its great preoccupation in the problems of our class internationally. We began in 1928 with the struggle for internationalism against the dogma of "socialism in one country." We said then and we say now that the modern world is an economic unit. That not a single important problem, and certainly not the most important problem, the socialist reorganization of society, can be solved on national grounds.

Internationalism as we Trotskyists conceive of it, means first of all international collaboration. But this collaboration does not only signify discussion of the problems and tasks of co-thinkers in other countries, but also the solution of these problems, above all our own specific problems **in action.**

We have nothing but contempt for those who set themselves up as commentators on foreign affairs or who limit themselves to the role of Red Cross societies to aid other revolutions or revolutionists in other countries – as necessary as this latter may be.

We will have none of that one-sided internationalism – preoccupation with far-off questions to the exclusion and neglect of the burning problems on one's doorstep. This is only a caricature of internationalism.

We are internationalists because the world exists as an economic unit, and that in order to have a correct orientation here in Canada one must have a correct understanding of the international scene.

But our party, the RWP, can justify its existence only if, beginning with an international program, it succeeds in applying this program to conditions of Canadian life, and confirming it in action.

Trotskyism is a world doctrine and concerns itself with all questions of world import – but let us not forget that Canada is part of the world, and a part which is of considerable importance.

We Marxists approach the question of the Canadian Revolution from an analysis first of all of the objective factors that are in play. These are fundamental. If the objective factors do not exist or are not in the process of developing then the revolution is an idle dream. To approach the question in any other manner, is unrealistic – mere wishful thinking, utopianism – no matter how

revolutionary-minded its proponents may be.

It would be a criminal error to ignore the great power of our enemy – the Canadian bourgeoisie. Developed as a great force not only in its own national borders but on the international scene, in the struggle for the world market. But we are not hypnotized by the superficial appearance of things; we also see its inherent weaknesses, the contradictions which it cannot escape and that new and even greater power which it has created, but which will be its grave-digger – the Canadian working class.

The great boom of the Twenties nourished the myth of Canadian exceptionalism. Business was booming, jobs were plentiful and gold seemed to be flowing from a perpetual cornucopia. Europe and the world seemed to be a market that was bottomless. Canada as a country was developing to the North and West. Suddenly when it seemed as if it would never cease, the whole bottom fell out.

The boom around the corner never came, only a partial upswing in 1934-37. Hundreds of thousands of workers walked the streets, lost their homes and farms, and went on relief. Depression proved to be not merely a cyclical crisis leading to higher productive levels, but a permanent depression resulting from the concentration of wealth in fewer hands, and the limitations of the home market and the contracting world market – prepared by the very capitalist boom that had preceded it.

Only war solved it – but it solved nothing.

Today's boom is based on shortage of consumer goods resulting from war production. The world market was disrupted and bankrupt. Europe this time was a drain in the shape of Lend-Lease. The country was saddled with an astronomical debt, increased productivity yet with a market not expanded, with inflation, and an increased military budget. Bourgeois economists entered the post-war world with fears and doubts.

What chance has the boom that we are living under today have of *(producing)* a different ending than that of the Twenties? It can only be different in so far as the crisis must go deeper and have more devastating consequences, and must come sooner than the Twenties.

The Canadian workers that confront the next crisis – that class which will take its blows and suffer its agonies, will not be that helpless mass which met the crisis of the Thirties in complete bewilderment, fear and with certain elements of despair. The proletariat is more numerous with Canada's increased industrialization. It is more highly organized – almost two and one-half times as many – over 700,000 members, not the 300,000 of 1935. It is not just an increase in numbers, but in the Twenties the bulk of organized workers were the crafts, skilled and privileged workers who were conservative. Now the most decisive sections is the organized mass production workers.

These unions were already put to the test last summer and fall. They demonstrated their great power and solidarity such as the 37,000 IWA workers. A terrific metamorphosis took place in a little over a decade, with the commencement of the Oshawa UAW drive. Capitalism produced this mighty class. It took the habitant, the bankrupt Western farmer, the bankrupt shopkeeper – and

women – marched them into socially operated industry, the assembly line, abused them, mistreated them and forged them into a mighty unified grouping.

These workers have already demonstrated their militancy, resourcefulness and ingenuity. *(Recall)* the CSU, anchored outside the harbor, the canal battles; the UAW, the motor barricades. Next in order – and not far away – comes their political awakening. That will be at the same pace and on the same scale. They will learn politics as they learned trade unionism from an abridged dictionary? At first they will feel their way but when they commence to move they will do so with hurricane speed and power.

The working class as a whole is infected by the poison of reformism either of the classic "Socialist" variety or the Stalinist brand. Much has been made of the backwardness of the Canadian workers as justification for a pessimistic outlook and indefinite postponement of the socialist revolution. This is superficial, a failure to look at them in development.

True, the CCF has not yet been put in power. The trade union leadership is conservative, lacks experience. But under the compulsion of necessity, backward classes find themselves driven to clear great distances in single leaps. *(For example, the)* French Canadian went directly from being a habitant to being a union member. The rise of the trade unions proves it.

Is the high standard of living a barrier to the Canadian workers' development – is it a conservatizing factor? It is only a conservative factor under conditions of stability, where the standard can be maintained and improved. Today the very standard of living of the Canadian workers is a radicalizing force – driving him to struggle. He reacts violently and sensitively to any cut in it.

Under the impact of great events and pressing necessities the Canadian workers will advance and acquire class consciousness and organization. Yes, all the objective factors are ripening for the Canadian revolution.

But failing the leadership of a revolutionary party the most favorable revolutionary situations which arise from the objective circumstances cannot be carried through to the final victory of the workers and the beginnings of the socialist order. The decisive instrument of the proletarian revolution is the party of the class conscious vanguard.

This was demonstrated in the 1917 Russian Revolution. And again in all the revolutions and colonial uprisings that followed 1914.

The revolutionary party in Canada today is small and weak. But does this mean that it is idle to speak of revolutionary possibilities? The flaw posed in this argument which is so often advanced is the isolation of the revolutionary parties, their relative numerical weakness at a particular moment from the totality of objective economic and political development, which create all the conditions for its growth.

But, given the objectively revolutionary situation, a proletarian party – even a small one –

equipped with a precisely worked out Marxist program and firm cadres can expand its forces and come to the head of the revolutionary mass movement in a comparatively brief space of time – the example of the Russian Revolution is before us.

Numerical weakness is a weakness to be overcome by persistent work and resolute struggle. Our party, the RWP, is the party of the proletarian revolution. It is the task of all class conscious workers to join this party and aid in building it and making it an effective force. Our party is small though it is a great party. It's a strong party built on the granite rock of Marxism. It's a party with a great record and a stainless banner with great experience and tradition.

Our analysis has shown that the present boom is rapidly heading toward a crisis and that this will be a profound social crisis which can lead to an objectively revolutionary situation. Our analysis has shown that the workers have already demonstrated the capacity to move massively and militantly in the field of trade unionism – they will move even more massively and with ever greater speed on the political field in the days to come.

The objective prerequisites will not be lacking. Capitalism itself will provide them. The manpower of the revolution will not be lacking either. It is already partly assembled and partly prepared. The rest is our part – to build the RWP, to make it strong, powerful with its influence deep into the working class movement, to lead the workers to victory.

(end)

c. 1948 Leading activists at RWP headquarters, *(back row)*, 3rd from left: Myer Shapiro, Ed Aldis, Murray Dowson *(at right door frame)*, Hugh Dowson; Sonia Rosenthal *(centre in front of Murray)*, Paddy Stanton, *unknown*, Vern Olson *(Centre row):* Jeannette Dowson *(white blouse)*, Sadie Jourard, (two unknown on right) *(Front row, sitting, l-r)* Gordon Garbig, Ross Dowson, Joe Rosenthal, Bill Brown

INTERNAL BULLETIN

of the Revolutionary Workers Party
Canadian Section of the Fourth International

CONTENTS

THE CCF : OUR TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES

by
Ross Dowson

The follwoing document, dealing more extensively with the CCF and supplementing the General Political Resolution, is not being presented as a resolution for our Second National Convention as originally intended by the National Committee but as an individual contribution The resident N.C. members, when coming to grips with the problem in the light of the pre-convention discussion, concluded that the question is more suitably dealt with in the above form. The resident N.C. members approve of the general line of this document.

THE CCF: OUR TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES (excerpts)

by Ross Dowson (Internal Bulletin Vo..III No. 1)

The central document around which the discussion at our 1946 national convention developed which culminated in the formation of the Revolutionary Workers Party, an independent party competing for the adherence of the Canadian workers with the CCF and the Stalinist Labor Progressive Party (LPP), was entitled PERSPECTIVES OF THE CANADIAN SECTION. The Bulk of this document was devoted to an analysis of the CCF. "The key to the growth of the Canadian Trotskyist movement," it said, "depends on a correct appraisal and attitude towards the CCF."

At that time we characterised the CCF as "predominantly an agrarian social democratic party with its primary base in the prairie radicalism of the western farmers... its membership in the major industrial cities of the East primarily middle class with a small sprinkling of highly skilled workers." To the question "Will the CCF succeed in becoming a genuine labor party based on the unions," we replied... "It is not possible to answer this question conclusively." But we did answer for the next period, "Such a development appears out of the question in the next period."

The document held out the perspective of independent growth of our forces in the fact that the Canadian working class were on the verge of the vast economic struggles that swept over the country in the following spring and summer of that year (1946) and, (since the CCF was of a "middle class character" isolated "from the struggles of the workers") in the conviction that the "workers will not find in the CCF a party to attract their allegiance." Added to this was the conception that the revolutionary struggles shaking Europe and the possible mass growth of the parties of the Fourth International would make the situation more favourable for the independent party. All this notwithstanding the document continued: "at the present time we must consider a new revival of the CCF in the next few years as the most likely variant."

It said: "Our firm unalterable principled opposition towards the reformist CCF must be supplemented by flexible tactics changing in accordance with the changing relationship of forces. Thus under certain conditions a revival of the French Turn* might be necessary while under others a campaign for direct affiliation of our tendency as a party to the CCF may be indicated. For the next period, however, our main energies must be devoted to the building of the independent party of the 4th International in Canada, sinking its influence in the unions, rooting itself in the working class. In this way we shall be in a much better position to influence the development of any left wing tendency that may arise in the CCF in the future." *(*the French youth decision to enter the crisis-ridden reformist-led Socialist Party at its radical youth wing's invitation, and successfully wiinning them over –ed.)*

The RWP from the day of its formal organisation up until now has had a CCF orientation. Our tactical approach since then has shifted within the framework of this general orientation. Up until September 1948 our tactical approach remained in keeping with that outlined in the 1946 convention resolution — the main emphasis on the building of the independent party. It was then that our party in its press *Labor Challenge* marked out a major turn in Canadian politics in its conclusion that the CCF, from an analysis of the campaign around the 1948 elections, had become the political party of organized labor.

In an organisational report appearing in the June 1949 internal bulletin the national secretary called

upon the party to "now make CCF fraction work a more serious part of party work," urging that "all branches should go through their membership rolls and assign where possible suitable comrades to carry on this phase of our work which is undoubtedly going to assume greater and greater importance."

At a later date it may be advisable that we carry out an entry into the CCF. A few months later the National Committee discussed the advisability due to a favorable left-wing development in the B.C. section of the CCF of entry there by our party cadre and urged the Vancouver branch to seriously consider the matter. Out of this discussion came a document from a leading member of the Vancouver branch appearing in the March 1950 bulletin. Shortly after the International Secretariat made known to us (April 1950 bulletin) that it was generally in favor of our making an entry into the CCF. (...)

The 1945 resolution declared that since the 1943 elections the CCF has moved steadily to the right. We have nothing to revise in this estimation. The official policy of the party has continued on in its rightward course at an increasing tempo. From having been the capitalist governments' representatives at the U.N. "as an instrument of peace" the CCF has become an apologist of the UN as an instrument of war. The 1950 CCF National Convention went on record as demanding Canadian participation, cajoling the cautious St. Laurent government for not sending Canadian troops, in the counter-revolutionary intervention in the Korean civil war. The Coldwell leadership endorsed the Marshall Plan with both hands and, after overcoming a few qualms and rank and file resistance, committed the movement to all-out support of the Atlantic Pact. The foreign policy of the CCF in all essentials is an identity with that of the capitalist government, at one with its war on the colonial revolutions, its rearmament of European reaction and its casting of Canada in the role of a junior partner in Wall Street's preparations for the assault on the USSR.

The CCF leadership has demonstrated, without even the glories of office that its British cousins bask in *(referring to the post-war success of the British Labour Party –ed.)* , its complete willingness to condone all the consequences of their and the government's foreign policy. (...) The Emergency Powers Act and Defence Production Act, the blue-print for the Bonapartist state, were slipped through the house by the St. Laurent government with the support of' the CCF M.P.s who chided the government for its failure to use these dictatorial powers to enact price controls. Far from resisting the imposition on the backs of the Canadian people of the 5 billion dollar war budget the CCF leadership voices dissatisfaction with the government's lack of `' preparedness." There is no talk by the CCF of opposing conscription this time, even with the phony "No conscription of Manpower without Conscription of Wealth."

The CCF leadership which once carried on a campaign for the repeal of the notorious Section 98 *(of the "War Measures Act" -- ed.)* is now, despite the lessons of the US witch hunt, much more circumspect in committing itself to the defence of the civil rights of the first target of the witch hunters, and the Stalinist LPP. An Alberta CFF trade union leader has even called for the internment of "communists".

The long and increasingly rapid rightward swing of the CCF has been consolidated in the programmatic documents of that party. At the 1948 convention a concerted campaign was waged to free the party from commitments on the question of nationalisation of Canadian economy, mainly its credit and financial institutions.

The 1950 convention divested the party program of the increasingly embarrassing pacifist commitments contained in the foundation document, the Regina Manifesto.

The regime has hardened; the CCF in the past period has become more bureaucratized. The old discussion atmosphere has given way to that of an electoral machine. Through a series of far-reaching precedents the parliamentary leadership has assumed the right to commit the party to all kinds of stands at variance with the last expressed will of the membership. At the 1950 Vancouver convention the national leadership established its right to move in on the heretofore relatively autonomous rights of the provincial sections in the field of internal discipline.

The many expressions of opposition to the rightward course of the party have been brutally suppressed, the latest being the ban leveled on the B.C. Fellowship composed of long standing and activist members of the CCF by the provincial and national leaderships and condoned by the B.C. convention.

Three years of more or less intense CCF fraction work have verified the fact that, with regional variations, the CCF constituency clubs are functioning on a very low level of political activity. There has been a large drop in active membership. There is little young blood in the party and there is no new blood coming into it at this time.

The active membership is basically petty bourgeois and skilled working class; worker militants are rare. The average age is quite high, the political level and even political interest is extremely low, with the main energies of the membership directed to money raising schemes and social affairs.

The CCF exists in Quebec and the Maritimes on a very feeble basis⋯ in the Quebec elections of 1944 it had five times as many candidates as in 1948. Its Saskatchewan membership drive, where it holds political power, fell 10,000 short last year. The B.C. section where it has polled almost 35% of the vote, reports a turnover in membership from 20 to 40%. The B.C. section records the following fall in membership (membership constitutes the paying of $2 a year plus whatever individual constituency clubs may levy from time to time):

Jan. 1946	6,277
Jan. 1947	4,975
Jan. 1948	4,483
Jan.1949	4,536
Jan.1950	4,425

In the Welland by-election, the only electoral evidence since the 1949 election other than the recent Waterloo South and Winnipeg Centre by-elections, the CCF vote dropped precipitously.

The youth movement is defunct. The B.C. CCYM was reported at the latest provincial convention to number only 32 members. The Ontario section claims 250 but the only thriving section appears to be the Saskatchewan section.

IT WOULD BE A FUNDAMENTAL ERROR HOWEVER TO EVALUATE THE CCF, ITS PRESENT OR ITS FUTURE, MERELY ON THE ABOVE FACTS... AN ERROR WHICH WOULD HAVE TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES FOR THE FUTURE OF OUR MOVEMENT. IN ORDER TO HAVE A CORRECT EVALUATION OF THE ABOVE FACTS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE, IT IS

NECESSARY TO REMAIN WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR WORLD OUTLOOK, TO UNDERSTAND THE PERSPECTIVE OF REFORMISM IN THIS MOST REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH. AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS NECESSARY T0 FULLY APPRECIATE THE LEVEL OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND EXPERIENCE OF THE CANADIAN WORKING CLASS… TO BE ENTIRELY FREE FROM REVOLUTIONARY ROMANTICISM — TO BE REVOLUTIONARY REALISTS.

It is no longer possible, the above evidence notwithstanding, to talk with a question mark, as did our 1946 resolution, as to whether the CCF will "succeed in becoming a genuine labor party based on the unions." It is necessary to record clearly and without any equivocation or reservations that the CCF is the political arm of labor, that it is the Canadian labor party, that it has long passed the stage where its future development as a labor party in the full meaning of the term, as applied to the British Labor Party which encompasses the class, is in any doubt whatsoever.

As Comrade Kane recorded in the June 1942 Internal Bulletin, "Political action of the Canadian workers has taken a reformist detour. Today's expression of working class independent political action is the CCF. It is a mass party… it expresses an elemental move on the part of the masses into independent political action ... it is the political manifestation of the Canadian working class." *(bold by ed.)*

The CCF is not a third capitalist party but a mass party of the workers and farmers of this country. Despite its petty bourgeois, its reformist program, it is a class party, a party of the proletariat.

The decline in CCF membership, the apathy in its ranks, the low political level of its membership, does not reflect any fundamental disillusionment on the part of the class with the CCF, programmatically or organisationally. The workers have not rejected the CCF. They are not on the verge of by-passing it at the next turn of events and flooding into the revolutionary party. On the contrary all these phenomena are merely the reflection of the general political inexperience, as yet, of the class as a whole, signs of its immaturity.

As Comrade Pilar on behalf of the International Secretariat wrote us last year, the CCFs "Stagnations and present decline" is "explainable in large part by objective conditions (the transitory relative prosperity that exists in Canada"…) and of course the repercussions these conditions have on the consciousness of the masses.

The above picture of the political apathy and organisational decline of the CCF is an entirely lopsided one, taken outside of time and place. Since its origin in a coalition of agrarian and working class movements 18 years ago, the CCF has become a mass Canadian-wide movement. It has 13 members in the House of Commons, in one province it has been elected and re-elected to power. It is the official opposition in several provinces; the bourgeois parties are in coalition against it in several others. Since1943 the mass industrial unions organised in the CCL-CIO *(Canadian Congress of Labour – CIO, the Canadian and US industrial union federations)* have endorsed it as their political arm. In recent years we have witnessed the translation of this resolution from paper into Political Action Committees in the CCL unions, actively participating in the CCF campaigns behind candidates that reflect this development. Important support for the CCF has arisen in the traditionally anti-political TLC-AFL *(Trades & Labour Congress-AFL, the Canadian and US craft union federations – ed.).*

It is by no means permissable to look upon the CCF as an episodic development in Canadian political life, a transitory movement without perspective. It is a movement with deep roots in Canadian life. Even where it is weakest, the Alberta section for instance, from which it draws no federal seats and where there are only 2 CCF provincial members, whose paper recently reverted from publication on a weekly basis to an every other weekly basis, the movement has deep roots. The president of the Farmers Union of Alberta, the presidents of both the CCL and TLC Edmonton Labor Councils, even the president of the Alberta Teachers Association, are CCFers. It has a nationwide political apparatus. Although it has so far shied away from the municipal political field it has representatives in municipal bodies in such industrial towns in Ontario as Timmins, North Bay, Welland, Thorold, Sarnia, and Stratford. Last year its candidate in Toronto polled over 66,000 votes.

All evidence that pictures the CCF as a moribund movement requires much more than a surface examination… for instance the drop in CCF's representation in the Ontario house in the 1945 elections from 34 to 8 seats was the result of a drop in votes from 418,520 to 395,708 …less than 5%. Despite the decline in membership in 1948, the year between '46-'50 when B.C. membership was smallest, the CCF had 2,000 clubs and a membership of 70,000 scattered across the country. The day of the provincial election that year the Ontario section was able to mobilise 10,000 volunteer workers. The B.C. membership went down to a low of 4,425 in 1950 but the breakdown is of importance to understand just what this means. Since 1,891 of this figure represents new memberships apparently several thousand did not renew. The experience of our own fraction with this work, tells us that non-renewals reflect not so much disillusionment with the CCF as political apathy, and such renewals are easily obtained if picked up.

The CCF may have had its federal representation cut by the 1949 election from 32 to 13 seats but its vote remained at its previous level of almost 15% of the total. The Stalinist vote in those few ridings where it opposed the CCF declined drastically. In other words the working class did not express opposition to the CCF of a left character but failed to continue on, in its swing away from capitalist politics, thanks in large part to the CCF's electoral policy. While the CCF did not gain ground in the 1949 elections on a national scale, there is an aspect of the vote which is important to note — there was a shift in its support from the Prairies to the industrial ridings; in the Toronto ridings its vote rose from 85,115 in 1945 to 114,896.

Active membership in the CCF has dropped but the 1950 National Expansion drive was a big success. At Similkameen B.C. where "the organisation through the riding is at a low ebb" provincial leaders coming from the outside were able to raise $655, "the highest figure of any riding." In 6 days they were able to raise $2,000 in the Yale *(B.C.)* Federal Riding.

The CCF has only a skeleton of a movement in Quebec, but this tells us more about the level of political maturity and experience of the Quebec workers than it does about the CCF. With due allowance to the fact that the CCF compromised itself on the conscription question during the last war (which it is necessary to note the Liberals and Tories and the LPP also did), it is a fact that the proletarianization and unionization of Quebec is a recent phenomena, that Quebec is the stronghold of Catholicism and bourgeois reaction in this country, that there are no signs of working class political action developing outside of the CCF.

THE PARTY OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN FORM

Against all the evidence of the decline in activity, political apathy within the constituency clubs and their non-industrial working class character, if such evidence is thought to cast some doubt as to the future development of the CCF, must be placed the evidence of the development which our 1946 resolution thought probable but at that time placed in small question marks: "Will the CCF succeed in becoming a genuine labor party based on the unions?"

This has been answered in a positive and conclusive way by the change in relationship of the organised labor movement to the CCF and by the shift in the CCF's mass base. It is these facts that are decisive in determining what the CCF is and its future course of development.

The CCL convention of 1943 endorsed the CCF as the political arm of labor. Every year since then this massive assembly of the industrially organized proletariat of this country has reaffirmed this stand. In 1945 for the last time the TLC convention endorsed the Liberal Party; since then important sections of the TLC and whole strata of its lower leadership have moved towards the CCF. The great majority of the top leaders and the secondary leadership of the CCL-CIO affiliated unions are members of the CCF, many of them holding key posts in provincial and national bodies of the CCF. Many of the key leaders of TLC-AFL unions and administrative bodies have leading posts in the CCF.

The decisive shift of the organised labor movement towards the CCF took place in 1948. In that year the Ontario provincial convention of the TLC almost unanimously passed a resolution "to ditch the two old line parties." The same year, just prior to the Ontario elections, the Ontario Federation of Labor (CCL) set itself an objective of $100,000 to support the CCF campaign and placed 18 of its full-time organizers to work through the PACs, behind CCF candidates. While few unions, either CCL or TLC, have affiliated to the CCF, last year the CCL PACs were given a permanent status with a national organizational set-up and the regular publication of a PAC monthly newsletter.

THE PARTY OF LABOR IN CONTENT

Despite endorsation by the CCL, as long as the base of the CCF remained fundamentally agrarian, its future course remained somewhat of a question mark. But the1948 federal by-elections, the '48 provincial elections and every election since then, has pointed up the decisive shift in the base of the CCF from the rural agrarian areas in this country to the industrial urban areas.

In the 1948 Ontario elections, with the dynamic intervention of the PACs, the CCF surpassed its 1943 poll to register 459,950 votes and to gain 14 more seats out of the 90 in the Ontario house. Even though it increased its vote the CCF did not hold its own in the rural areas — it dropped three northern seats but won 17 new seats mostly in Canada's industrial heartland, the Toronto area. A high proportion of its candidates were trade union leaders. The vote in Saskatchewan (the agrarian province par excellence) in 1948 showed the same trend. While the CCF was re-elected with an increase in vote of 12%, in the 34 rural seats its vote declined 4%. The CCF took all 6 seats in urban Saskatoon with an increase in vote of 66% and won 4 of the 5 mixed rural and urban seats in the province. In Alberta the CCF's main influence is in the urban areas with one seat in both Calgary and Edmonton.

While the CCF vote in the 1949 federal election dropped 1.4% and it failed to increase its seats in Ontario over the one that it previously held, its vote in the Toronto ridings increased to equal that which it polled in the 1948 provincial election. It lost ground in the Prairie provinces, but gained votes in the industrial areas across the country.

REFLECTS THE REAL SITUATION IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The failure of the CCF to register new gains, the low level of political consciousness of its membership, the general non-industrial proletarian character of the constituency clubs, the lack of interest in the PACs does not signify instability of the CCF as a movement, does not tell us that the CCF as a political movement is slipping to its doom and we are on the verge of witnessing the political development of the workers taking another course.

Since 1946 the entire labor movement has undergone an extensive period of lull. The massive economic organisations of the Canadian worker, the unions, following the inspiring upsurge of 1946, have been passive. Only now can we see the beginnings of a shift in the temper of the workers under the pressure of inflationary wage cuts, new taxes, etc. Having sunk such deep roots into the ranks of the masses it is not at all surprising that the CCF should reflect the mood of the masses; indeed, how could it possibly be otherwise.

Just as today it reflects the real situation in the Canadian labor movement, the lull and apathy that has permeated it, so tomorrow it will reflect the rising militancy of the workers. Those workers now in the movement will be transformed in the same way as capitalism will transform the workers who today do not attend union meetings, who have to be prodded to pay their dues, who are anti- or nonpolitical. The class, searching for a political solution to its problems will flood into the CCF, will grasp it and attempt to shape it into an instrument to solve their problems.

Under the pressure of capitalist reaction, freed from the pressure of the working class which is confused and apathetic, the Coldwell leadership has turned on the remnants of the socialist groupings that helped found the movement, the pacifists and the few elements that have developed a class consciousness through the experience of the pre- and post-war international developments. It felt it both necessary and free to draw the balance sheet of the past decade of development by shucking off that embarrassing remnant of the past, the Regina Manifesto.

The rightward swing of the CCF has disillusioned many of its old supporters. New elements of workers, witness to its opportunism, have developed a critical attitude to the movement. But the CCF has by no means spent the capital that it has accumulated over the past 18 years. The disillusionment and critical attitude of restricted layers of workers has not found its expression in their shifting their allegiance to a party whose program more closely resembles the old CCF or is more left.

(Party leadership is –ed.) UNDER BOURGEOIS NOT PROLETARIAN PRESSURE

The present rightward shift of the CCF is not a retreat before the leftward pressure of the Canadian workers. It can more correctly be said to flow from the general absence of such pressures. It is capitulation to bourgeois pressure, to a considerable degree in the sense of adaptation to the level of present political consciousness and experience of the workers as a whole.

It is true that there is little room for any extensive reforms, and the war drive is narrowing this possibility, but there is still a little latitude for the bourgeoisie to grant a few crumbs (witness St. Laurent’s passage of old age pensions) and the CCF thinks there is much more for them. The CCF is not in power nor is it confronted with a revolutionary crisis causing it to turn on the masses (registering

this in its program and the internal life of the party) as only now in any real sense are its British counterparts, inheritors of a bankrupt economy doing.

The CCF leadership seeks the respect and good opinion of the bourgeoisie. In the face of the swelling global class conflict it sees its future at stake in the security of Canadian capitalist society. But this is only one aspect of the explanation of their opportunism. In the last federal elections the Coldwell leadership gave underhand support to the Liberals as the lesser evil than the Tories. We think this in large part is attributable to its willingness to adapt itself to what it estimates the political consciousness of the population to be, for who can say that the CCF leadership does not want more votes, more seats in the House of Commons etc.?

THE WORKING CLASS, AS THEY ARE

It is necessary to look at the Canadian working class without illusions, free of all concepts of what we would like it to be or what it should be. The Canadian working class have the second highest living and working standard in the world. They have demonstrated their willingness to launch out in the most militant actions to prevent any infringements of it, thereby pointing to their great revolutionary potentialities. They are, despite the fact that the CCF is a party of reforms relatively free of reformist prejudices, approaching the CCF with no strong loyalties or confidence in its program nor the suitability of its leadership. They have suffered no soul shattering defeats. The meteoric rise of the industrial unions, their revolutionary ingenuity as demonstrated in the massive 1946 strike wave by the Ford auto barricade, disclose their capacity to take at a single leap the long paths followed by their European brothers. But nonetheless their experiences remain quite limited, they move empirically; they are without political class consciousness let alone socialist consciousness.

The very workers who seized the vehicles to erect the massive Windsor auto barricade voted Liberal Paul Martin into office and returned racketeer Mayor Reaume time and again, their union UAW only last month finally tying in its forces behind the rest of the CCL to support CCF.

The red baiting drive has found considerable receptivity in the ranks of Canadian labor as has the capitalist propaganda campaign that the war threat comes from a USSR ready to pounce on Canada and implant the Kremlin dictatorship on this soil. The bourgeois propaganda that the colonial struggles are Moscow inspired has even won considerable support. While the majority of the Canadian people oppose the Korean imperialist adventure there is not active opposition to it even to the degree that there is in the US — Canadian casualties at the time of writing number only 44 and public concern is further undercut by the fact that the entire force is a voluntary one, labeled by one staid and influential bourgeois journal as “bums and social misfits.”

BETRAYED THE CLASS BUT NOT ITS CONSCIOUSNESS

One of the fundamental characteristics of reformism is its crass opportunism, its ability to smell out the level of consciousness of the workers, their weak points and their inexperience, and give them what they want, adapt itself to the situation regardless of the long range interests of the class.

When the CCF supported the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact it betrayed socialist principles. When it ditched the Regina Manifesto, summing up its right-ward swing of the past decade and swinging even further to the right, it betrayed its origins. When it supported Korean UN intervention and even urged Canadian participation in the slaughter it betrayed a revolutionary struggle,

not to speak of common humanity; BUT BY NONE OF THESE ACTS, WE REPEAT, NOT ONE, DID THE CANDIAN WORKERS FEEL THEMSELVES BETRAYED BY THE CCF. In none of these acts did the CCF swing further to the right than the present effective thinking of the class.

While Coldwell and the Vancouver convention went on the record favouring Canadian participation in the counter-revolutionary intervention in Korea, thus flying in the face of the results of the Gallup poll, the party's flanks were covered by the militant anti-imperialist, anti-war speeches of Premier Douglas of Saskatchewan who is without much doubt the most popular leader that the CCF possesses. It was also widely known that there was a powerful opposition in many sections of the CCF, not only to Korean intervention but to the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact.

IN ADVANCE OF THE CLASS

The CCF, right now, its present revised program and all, does not just reflect the present level of consciousness of the workers. The CCF IS IN ADVANCE OF THE THINKING OF THE CANADIAN WORKING CLASS. Regardless of certain aspects of its program which may be debated to be to the right of the class, in its fundamental significance – working class political action — it is in advance of the class — it leads the class.

This is of course the basis of our orientation — critical support of' the CCF – a position that we have held since the re-formation of the party in 1944. As we have summed it up many times in the pages of our press since then "the CCF represents the first strivings of the Canadian workers into the realm of working class politics. The CCF is a progressive break from the bourgeois parties, the CCF represents the principle of political action by labor independent of the bourgeois parties…" This is not giving anything to this reformist movement but a simple recognition of fact.

There is no end of proof that the CCF is in advance of the Canadian workers, thus playing an essentially progressive role. Every comrade cannot help but be aware of it in day to day life. There are course workers who oppose the CCF for radical reasons, but there is a vast difference between the shadow and the substance. To a limited extent with some workers, through its recent development, the CCF has spent its capital. It has impeded some workers from developing a political class consciousness in the same way as have the crimes of the British Labor Party, observed by many Canadian workers. But the CCF, a mass party of labor, is still in advance of the class as a whole. The class has yet to generalize its trade union consciousness and militancy into political consciousness, either reformist or revolutionary. We remain of course confident that this lack will be as speedily overcome as the lack of industrial unions was overcome.

INCONTROVERTIBLE EVIDENCE

Three incidents might be given however that with crystal clarity verify the statement that the CCF is in advance of the class and for that matter that section which is union conscious.

1) — A post 1949 federal election Gallup poll which revealed that the CCF was strongest among young people, union labor, non-farm people and members of other denominations than the 3 most powerful churches, also reported that union labor in its majority still votes Liberal; (Liberal 42%, PC 17%, CCF 34%. (The CCF over-all polled 14.1% of the vote).

2) — The CBRE, *(Railway Brotherhood – ed.)* one of the few unions which has locals affiliated to the CCF, circulated a letter sometime in February of this year asking locals their opinion on the matter of affiliation to the CCF. According to reports in their journals as of the May issue, four locals responded, all rejecting endorsation of the CCF. Their secretaries reported in the following words: "the membership as a whole are definitely against any political ties... the meeting quickly poured cold water on the idea ... an animated discussion followed resulting in a negative vote condemning all political action on the part of the Brotherhood. .. received a very cold shoulder after a lengthy debate. As one person put it: 'You take away a man's freedom when you are told which party one must support!'" Not one of these locals is among the many that opposed the recent settlement of their nation wide strike by the Mosher-Hall leadership which was represented in the house by the CCF M.P.s.

3) — The bourgeois press recently played up the rejection by the Ontario Federation of Printing Trades Unions of a motion coming from the Toronto printing trades urging endorsation of the CCF. The passed resolution replaced the specification "CCF" with the word "favorable" candidates. The resolution however praised the CCF MLAs *(Provincial Members of the Legislature)* and MPs *(Federal Members of Parliament – ed.)* for their "support and sympathy" and condemned the Liberal federal and Tory provincial governments. Only 2 speakers were quoted favoring the change, one of whom said "anybody in the trade should know that they (the CCF) are the only candidates that are favorable." The chairman of the resolutions committee justified the change on the basis that he thought many members would resent the conference telling them precisely how to vote — the strong lead was sufficient.

THE UNION BUREAUCRACY ADVANCES POLITICAL ACTION

The union bureaucracy supports the CCF. The top leaders of the CCL-CIO not only support the party but Steel director Milliard is an MPP, Packinghouse leader Dowling CCL representative to the WCFTU, and others, are on the leading- bodies of the CCF, both provincially and nationally.

This is the same bureaucracy which played such a treacherous role in the 1946 strike struggles, which has failed completely to give leadership in the fight against inflationary wage cuts, that has been conducting a witch hunt in the locals — a bureaucracy which is understood to be such, has been revealed as such, to fairly broad layers of the workers.

How is it that a force which plays such a role on the economic front can be advancing a policy which we have shown as advancing on the political front a policy which is progressive and in advance of the class as a whole? How does this effect the struggle for a new leadership in the unions?

It would be ludicrous to change our orientation to the CCF in the interest of bringing it into what may appear to be harmony with our evaluation of the class-collaborationist, cowardly role of the trade union bureaucracy, and the task we have set ourselves to replace them with a revolutionary leadership policy. It would be necessary to do violence to the facts.

The facts of the matter are, the CCL bureaucracy and layers of the TLC leadership have dynamically introduced, projected, the conception of political action into the unions. The Mosher-Conroy leadership (with the aid of the Trotskyists) put the CCL on record as endorsing the CCF as the political arm of labor at the 1943 convention against a powerful opposition of anti-politicos and the

Stalinists whose spokesmen demagogically attempted to frame their opposition so as to appear to be a matter of democratic control of the CCF policy bodies (the Stalinists then were in open alliance with the capitalist Liberal Party.) Ever since then the CCL bureaucracy has carried the ball for political action in the locals, setting up committees, raising funds, etc. That the PACs (Political Action Committees) have not yet won a wide and enthusiastic rank and file participation is due largely to workers' failure to appreciate the need of them.

While it is true that a mass influx of the workers into the PACs would hold real dangers for the trade union and the CCF leaderships, it is not correct to say that they have been the real barrier to the union ranks taking ever the CCF from the constituency clubs. The terms of union affiliation and participation on CCF policy making bodies are by no means of such a character as to discourage union intervention once the rank and file feel the need to do so. (One delegate per 100 members of the union – one delegate for each additional 50, constituency club representation we understand is 1 delegate for each 50 and every major part thereof).

(...)

THE STRUGGLE WILL GO THROUGH THE **P.A.C.**-CCF **(“the political action committee” – this is c.1945-1951 – ed.)**

The PACs are already there, the structure is there, MPs, MLAs, municipal members, are already there. The workers will attempt to use what is waiting for them. As the already existing policy and personnel reveal their insufficiency or treachery, the struggle for a new policy, a new leadership will unfold — from within the PACs. The direction of this politicization of the masses, in other words, will go through the CCF for the PACs are already committed to follow, and not just follow but determine, the whole course of development of the CCF.

(...)

“The first step of great importance for every country (...) is always the organization of the workers as an independent political party, no matter how, so long as it is a distinct workers' party – and the masses must have the time and the opportunity to develop and can only have the opportunity when they have their own movement – no matter in what form so long as it is their own movement – in which they are driven further by their own mistakes by hurting themselves.” Engels, 1886

Time to Re-think NDP Policy

It's High Time to Re-think Where Canada Must Stand

BY THE EDITORS

From Workers' Vanguard #69, November 1961, Editor Ross Dowson)

On the one hand we are witness to the revitalization of the Soviet masses wringing from the Khrushchov regime one concession on top of another, and on the march to the establishment of a new era of socialist democracy in their country. On the other hand there is the increasing viciousness of the Salazar dictatorship, the ominous trend towards fascism in France and other countries to which Canada is linked through the many ramifications of the Western alliance, together with the sharpening attack by Canadian capitalism and its representatives on labor at home. Surely these are grounds for a serious re-examination of the basic premises for the international policy that the CLC and the New Democratic Party leadership have imposed on the Canadian working class movement.

Democracy versus totalitarianism! That is the rule of thumb measure that Tommy Douglas *(newly elected leader of the newly christened "New Party," to become the NDP – ed.)* and (Claude) Jodoin *(leader of the pan-Canadian Labour Congress – ed.)* would have us guide ourselves with in the cross currents of the global conflict. No matter what could have been said for this formula before, what meaning does it have now — now with everything moving so apparently in the reverse order?

Economic democracy, meaningful democracy, these are the slogans under which the NDP has been launched and which project it into struggle against the Liberals and Tories. But democracy versus totalitarianism — it is with that crude formula that the Canadian working class is bound hand and foot to the Liberals and Tories when it comes to foreign policy.

The term democracy isn't adequate to describe the Western bloc. It is a propaganda device to cover over their essential capitalist-imperialist character. Neither does totalitarianism describe the Soviet bloc — rather does it hide their essential character as workers' states.

There are precious elements of democracy in Canada, in the US, in Britain, won at great cost and in struggle against capitalism. There is a monstrous totalitarian regime astride Soviet society. But it is necessary to probe deeper to get to the essence of things and to understand what is happening.

It is necessary to probe beneath the superstructure, to analyze the economic base of Canada and the US, the major component of the Western alliance. They are capitalist to which exploitation, class conflict and imperialism are not by any means some kind of disposable remnant from the 19th century.

And it isn't enough to reject the most crude and obvious anti-Soviet propaganda and then adopt a hands off policy, as if the fundamental nature of the Soviet bloc were of concern only to those living there.

The failure of many of the left wing in the NDP to analyze the character of the Soviet regime, when it is well known that it rests on a planned economy based on nationalized property has proven a costly matter. It has weakened their capacity to counteract the main argument against a vigorous anti-capitalist program, particularly the concept of public ownership of the basic means of production. Soviet totalitarianism, according to the NDP leadership, flows from nationalization. In order to assure democracy, we are told, we need planning and possibly public ownership, but along with the tempering influence of private ownership — a mixed economy of co-op ownership, public ownership and capitalism. And so we are witness to the ludicrous spectacle of the NDP leadership identifying democracy with private enterprise — with capitalism.

But totalitarianism is no more indigenous to nationalization than is the bureaucracy typified by Hoffa, Meany and their Canadian vest pocket versions to trade unionism. What we are witness to in the Soviet bloc is a highly contradictory phenomena — one with which NDP activists are vitally concerned from the point of view of finding their way to a correct position on foreign policy — on the key matter of war and peace.

With the ebb of the world revolution and the isolation of the first worker's state, the pressure of world capitalism on it, and its primitive technological and cultural inheritance, a conservative, parasitic bureaucracy arose on Soviet society. With Stalin as its chief spokesman and supreme arbiter, it drove the opposing Bolshevik cadre which had rallied to Trotsky into a corner, murdered it, and by framing it as an agency of a foreign power provided itself with a club with which it could beat and overwhelm future opposition forces.

But the era of defeats has closed. The revolution is no longer isolated. The planned economy is expanding and proving able to meet the needs of the masses who are demanding the egalitarian and humanistic society which was the aim of the revolution. They are demanding from those whose chief merit is the fact of their survival, that the heroic opponents of Stalinism be rehabilitated. As it is being driven back the bureaucracy is employing a strategy of striking out here and conceding there.

The worker's party doesn't support or go along with in any way the bosses' and their political agents' struggle against the unions. Nor is it neutral. It doesn't allow itself to be diverted from its position of defence of the unions by the treacherous betrayals of the trade union bureaucracy. Nor can it be indifferent to the struggle of the rank and file against this bureaucracy.

The forces must be mobilized to break the NDP from its policy of support of the NATO alliance which certainly is nuclear armed. The NDP must cease supporting the war mongering anti-Soviet cabal. Nor can it break only to assume a position of neutrality in the conflict. Certainly the entire left cannot afford to be indifferent to the inspiring

developments in the Soviet Union today. Stalinism has been a terrible blight on the making of the case for socialism amongst the Canadian working class. Its defeat will do much to clear the road ahead.

World capitalism is startled and dismayed by the re-entry of the Soviet peoples onto the political arena. The concessions that (Russian Soviet leader) Khrushchov is making under their pressure is tearing aside the myth of a subject people awaiting liberation from the West. These developments must strengthen the hand of those forces in the NDP who seek to win the NDP to a foreign policy which will identify it with every past conquest of the world working-class and aid and encourage future ones in the direction of a socialist world.

‘’The Struggle for a Proletarian Party in Canada (1921-45)”

(From “Notes of a speech by R.D. taken by John R., 9.14.64” *(Title handwritten by RD)*
(Transcribed from these notes, with additions in italics by the Web Editor)
(See also ‘’Glossary of Canadian labor movements and parties) .

The summer of 1921 saw the preparations for the founding of the Communist Party of Canada, the great beginning of the struggle for a proletarian party in this country. Why so late? *(given its inspiration was the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, October 1917).*

While in Canada there was the revolutionary capacity for struggle, the theoretical backwardness of the North American workers’ movement delayed any meaningful response.

The texts of the Russian Revolution were still not available; Lenin’s writings were not published in English until 1921. The Canadian revolutionaries had limited experience and no contact with Europe. Existing currents such as the IWW (International Workers of the World and the OBU (One Big Union) *(both pioneers in union organizing and the forerunners of industrial unionism in North America)* were revolutionary-minded but limited to syndicalism *(fighting only for ‘’plain and simple” economic gains*), rejecting political and parliamentary action.

Although the Socialist Party of Canada did have the economic analysis of Marx and Engels, they had no political program to match, remaining a sectarian educational grouping .

It was the Russian Revolution which provided the impetus for the appearance of the our Canadian journal *Workers’ World* . The first issue was dominated by a huge report of the Third congress of the Communist International (CI). This emphasis on international events was typical; the early Communist Party looked a bit like a ‘’Fair Play for Russia Committee,’’ struggling to digest and apply the experience of the Russian Revolution to Canada.

What was attempted was to give the workers of Canada a ‘’transitional program’’ – with answers to the questions ‘’what is the path to power?’’ and ‘’what kind of party is necessary?’’ The lead editorial of the first issue of *Workers’ World* (subsequently *Workers’ Guard* from the seventh issue of October 15, 1921) was short and to the point: ‘’our aim is to establish soviet power in Canada.”

The program of the CPC began to take shape in *Workers’ World*, as the journal began to gather around it together the best elements of the rising militancy in Canada, such as Max Armstrong who was prominent as a top educator of socialist ideas, and the two future leaders of the CPC, Jack Macdonald and Maurice Spector . On November 26 *(shortly after the fourth anniversary of the Russian Revolution)*, the call went out for the Workers’ Party based on the following principles, briefly stated:

1) For a workers' republic (i.e., soviet power in Canada), 2) political action, 3) involvement in union struggles, 4) democratic centralism, and 5) the foundation of a party press. The communists clearly demarked themselves on both sides from those who refused political action and from those who rejected trade union struggles

The formation of the Workers' Party of Canada was announced in December 1921 after a public conference of 60 delegates at the labor temple *(in Toronto).* Since then as the fate of the early leadership of the Communist Party was traced in *Labor Challenge (we learn that)* only one leader, Tim Buck, was not subsequently kicked out of the party, a few years later, as a ''Trotskyist.''

The membership base of the CPC was probably better than in the USA-CP in some ways. The (foreign) ''language'' federations were the real base of the party *(in Canada)* without however aspiring to control it. The CPC did not have to fight to ''Canadianize'' the party *(as the American party had a long bitter struggle to ''Americanize" the US party)*, and while the political life of the CPC was less stimulating than the US Communist Party, the dead-end factionalism *(sharp political debates*) of the US party did not exist in the CPC.

The CPC's Anglo-Saxon *(English-speaking)* cadre was reasonably strong, allowing the party to experience an early flare of growth (despite) the grim period it was established in, marked by the red scare that resulted from the (suppression of the) Winnipeg General Strike, the imposition of the infamous Section 98 clampdown which made the CPC semi-illegal.

Yet Maurice Spector was expelled only six years later (!) in 1928 for Trotskyism, while he was still the party's top theoretical leader, and without having had the opportunity to address a single membership meeting. Jack Macdonald, the most popular leader of the party – never a Lovestonite, American exceptionalist Mac was not theoretically developed – he had no faith in the CI and wanted to build the Canadian party on Canadian issues), he joined Spector in 1931 *(as he in turn was expelled from the CPC).*

But together, ''Mac'' and Spector never got to first base in the party. What happened? Why did this degeneration take place? It was because of the inexperience of the cadre, and because the authority of the Russian Revolution was so great – and this authority was transferred to its leaders. With the defeat of the Left Opposition *(around Trotsky in the USSR),* the fate of the Canadian CP was already sealed. Tim Buck became the transmission belt of Stalin to an extent that was unique in the world! Buck weathered all storms over subsequent years, made all the turns, eventually outlasting Stalin himself.

The CPC under Buck's leadership went through all the flip-flops of Stalinism over the next few decades. CPC leader Stewart Smith who went to the USSR to become indoctrinated in anti-Trotskyism, came back and wrote a ''Third Period'' attack *(when the Stalinists veered off briefly to ultra-left policies)* on the CCF *(the farmer-labor party*

based precursor to the NDP) entitled ‘’Socialism and the CCF’’ attacking the CCF as the greatest danger (!) to socialism. Then, following another flip-flop, back into popular front policies *(the signature Stalinist politics of multi-class ‘’anti-monopoly” coalitions).*

No revolutionary situation was betrayed in Canada in this period, as in France or Spain, but what did happen was that a whole generation of revolutionary cadre was destroyed in this country.

Maurice Spector launched the struggle against this Stalinization, the first such political campaign in North America. He got information about Trotsky’s struggle while he was in Germany and he took a position against the Stalinist theory of ‘’socialism in one country’’ as early as 1926 (?), in any case before 1928 when he had spoken to James P. Cannon (one of the principal leaders of the US CP) whom he knew as a dissident in the American party. Spector told Cannon he was a Trotskyist. Whether Cannon did not grasp the significance or hesitated before awesomeness of the struggle, he did not take a stand at that time.

But Cannon and Spector were working together when they went to Moscow in 1928, and came back with the ‘’Criticism of the draft program'' *(Trotsky’s seminal polemic against the emerging politics of the newly Stalinist-dominated CI) ,* which became the Trotskyist program of 1927 and 1928. *(*See Cannon note below – Ed.)*

Today Trotskyism has a very basic, easily identifiable meaning: for socialism, class struggle, a labor party, and defence of the Cuban revolution – enough to identify us very clearly. It was clear in 1921, too: for soviet power and the 5-point program. But in 1928 the issues seemed terribly abstract, revolving around the theory of socialism in one country. Trotsky had made a prediction: if this theory is adopted – the theory that Russia can achieve socialism by itself, if it is left in peace, free from imperialist attack, then the role of all other workers *(above all in the industrial but colonial countries also),* their supreme task, is to keep the peace, to be the border guards of the soviet bureaucracy.

Today it is all so clear! How extraordinarily correct Trotsky was; his prediction vindicated in every statement of Krushchev’s regarding ‘’peaceful co-existence.’’ Back then, Trotsky could be easily distorted, as the heady wine of the Revolution was still fresh. Experience had (in most countries) not yet validated Trotsky’s theory; the CI was still years from the ‘’popular front’’ (class-collaboration) policies and was in the middle of its ultra-revolutionary ‘’third period.’’

It was said that Trotsky was against any stabilization, against any immediate, limited struggle. But, as the theoretical positions began to grow by real experiences, the Left Opposition was formed internationally. The Left Opposition in Canada, at first part of the American movement, circulating their journal *The Militant (Cannon having been expelled from the CPUSA)*, began to grow with the German experience. The German party was the apple of the eye of the Comintern (*the world council of CPs in Moscow)*. All were sure that the German Communist Party was the next to seize power. But . . . it was crushed without a struggle; there was great concern over the victory of Hitler.

Spector held large public meetings on the German question; meanwhile in the ‘’Red Unions’’ *(third period alternate unions dominated by the CPC)* the Stalinists had effectively slit their own throats, isolating their union militants from the real unions. However, this was corrected by the time of the epic struggle to found the industrial-union federation, the CIO in Canada, when the Stalinists played an effective role.

As Trotsky said, his movement could not grow because its program was **vindicated, but only by defeats**.

The best forces (of the working class) were meeting defeat; they could not re-assess their action in the atmosphere it created; they were scattered, demoralized; whole generations of militants were destroyed. While hundreds of thousands of North American workers went through the US-CP, the revolutionary movement remained small. Because of the defeats the CP led, the working class movement into the party never developed.

Thus the CPC never flowered, never broke out of its old circle of Finnish and Ukranian workers, those foreign-language workers who were used again and again to crush dissident elements in the party.

This period marked the end of the Stalinist Canadian Communist Party as a revolutionary force. Still, there was no lack of internal disputes – the Fergus McKean-Fred McNeil dispute of 1945 was a clear fight against class collaboration during the (second world) war; the Salsberg fight of 1956 *(was over CPC support for the Moscow bureaucracy against the Hungarian revolt)*. But the dissidents never formed an alternative force; never went to the roots of the problem *(Stalinist ideology)*; their battles only further dissipated the forces of the CPC.

In the Canadian political setting of the 1930s, there was an atmosphere of defeat, where war was regarded as certain (the CP was campaigning for war) and there were workers’ defeats on every side *(notably Spain).* The CPC was making headway as a purely reformist movement; the CCF *(founded in 1933)* was stalemated; the only workers’ upsurge at that time was the upsurge of the CIO, where the CPC made good connections and played an important role. The revolutionary socialists (the Trotskyists) hung on as a small, besieged group, designated as ultra-left madmen, until finally, the Moscow Trials occurred.

In the infamous Moscow Trials, the Trotskyists were the chief defendants. Our movement could hardly hold meetings because of the physical attacks of the CPCers, and our opponents were not the bourgeoisie or social democrats, but workers who thought of themselves as socialist revolutionaries. This was the most demoralizing form of attack. In this atmosphere, never underestimate the strength of those who held on!

With the beginnings of the CCF came the struggles over our orientation to it. After 1934 this was the big question – the orientation towards the reformists. After the German defeat, we no longer looked to reform the CPC (*(the Stalinist defeat and the rise of Hitler prompted Trotsky to declare the third international bankrupt –ed.)* In 1936, (when Ross

Dowson joined) it was a movement with its back to the wall, with a few sophisticated workers, not recruited from the class struggle, a majority of intellectuals, a great many unemployed – perhaps a hundred in all.

The principal discussion in the movement was on the CCF – social democracy had survived; it had forced the CI into the united front, in order to convince the workers in this way of their superiority.

This was the time of the ‘’French turn,’’ the tactic of fusing with the left currents in the social democratic parties. This resulted in the first important split in the Canadian trotskyist movement with the opposition Oelerites taking the position *(against any entry tactic),* that the banner of the party must always be upheld as a sacred principle . The result was the split-off LRWP, which had a great initial flourish and for a time was larger than the original movement. In the debate over entry into the CCF, Macdonald favoured the tactic while others on the National Committee opposed it for tactical reasons; the result was another split and the existence of three groups! *(A deleted section follows describing the fate of petty-bourgeois grouping around Krehm in the LRWP, which however completely disappeared with the outbreak of World War 2 –ed.)*

By 1945 not a single person remained of the LRWP. By 1928 the two other Trotskyist groups had re-united with the founding of the Fourth International along with the SWP in the United States. But Spector went to the US at this time, where he opposed SWP entry into the USA Socialist Party and soon dropped out of the party. Macdonald was worn out as well. The movement had great difficulty in publishing a paper, the movement having been fused on a compromise, an agreement to draw no balance sheet of the CCF entry but to conclude that the entry was ended and to set up an open organization.

But it was just after the fusion that war was declared, and after only two issues of the journal was published, the movement was forced underground *(actually the second issue was banned under the War Measures Act and had to be circulated underground as a mimeographed sheet – see the journal section of this website --ed.)*

The main area of work at this time was the unemployed movement where we won the leadership, in struggles for cash relief and against forced labor for relief. The impact of the war was great – it seemed everyone was for the war – only we opposed it – along with the Stalin-Hitler Pact. Every tendency on the left supported the war but us after 1941. A tremendous terror was unleashed at the outset of the war. All the CPC leaders were thrown into prison. We published an underground mimeographed paper mainly to hold the cadre together *(see Socialist Action in the journals section –ed.)* A terribly vicious atmosphere built up around the war with the entry of the USSR. The Communist Party of Canada ran to the bourgeoisie; it openly supported the Liberal Party, cheek-by-jowl with (Tory leader) Hepburn and (Liberal leader) Mackenzie King.

That was Trotskyism during the war. The continuity of leadership of the American party (the SWP) was lacking in Canada. In Canada the original leadership was gone. The CCF orientation remained: a complex question which had never been resolved. No anti-

war sentiment could be mobilized; it was there, especially in Quebec, but there was not much that could be done to mobilize it.

The greatest achievement for Canadian Trotskyists was to hold the cadre together. Not until the end of the war could we start again, and by then the old forces were worn out, and they were in many cases outside the mainstream of the working class movement ; only a small handful carried on. Our journal *Labor Challenge* began just before the end of the war and had a big impact. The CCF started to move as it got the soldiers' vote ; the union movement was rushing ahead having made great gains during the war even though often through class collaboration , which now had to be defended in the great strike wave of 1945-46 when all these gains were consolidated.

(end of notes)

Notes by James P. Cannon, in his "First Ten Years of American Communism"* -- the memoires of a leading fiure in the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party , in 1958:
*(*Lyle Stewart Inc., New York, 1962)*

Page 185: "(...) Maurice Spector was present at this plenum (the February 1928 Plenum of the Communist International in Moscow) as the representative of the Canadian party. He was as much discontented about the expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev as I was. We spent an evening together talking about it, and I confided my own feeling to him. Neither of us had any idea of what we could do about it, and we made no plans to do anything at that time. This confidential conversation, however, did prepare the way for our getting together later at the Sixth Congress, and the eventual ageement we made there to come out for the cause of Trotsky when we returned home from the Congress. Spector was the onlyl one to whom I spoke frankly about my feeelings on the Russian question before the Sixth Congress.

As far as I can recall, the Russian question did not come up at the May, 1928 Plenum *(of the SWP—Ed.)* And no objection was raised on the Central Committee on my election as a delegate to the Sixth Congress, we would certainly have been the case if they had suspected me of Trotskyist inclinations."

Page 211: (...) "We speculated that if I could secure the central positiion in the official apparatus of trhe party *(the CP-USA –Ed.)* I would be in a position to swing far more substantial support for the International Left Opposition when the time came to make a decisive open break. The fly in the ointment was that in order to carry out such an maneuver I would have to adapt myself to the official Comintern line against Trotskyism (...) I must state frankly that Spector and I discussed the proposition between ourselves before deciding against it (...) We came to the conclusion that the cause of Trotskyism would be served better in the long run if we frankly proclaimed his program and started the education of a new cadre on that basis, even though it was certain to mean our own expulsion and virtual isolation at the start of the new fight (...) The decision we made at that time would seem to be an easy one, to be made out of hand. It was not so easy for us

in those days. Since the death of Lenin, the politics of the Comintern had become a school of maneuverism... Trotsky's document on the Draft Program *(critique of Stalinist policies – Ed.)* was a great revelation of the meaning of pirncipled politics" (...)

(Page 220: (...) "I had indeed heard about Spector's reluctance to condemn Trotsky as far back as 1925. His open manifestation of sympathy for Trotsky, or at least of doubts on the question, thus antedated mine by three years...

I remember well my meeting with Spector in New York in 1928 prior to the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern (...) on the occasion of his attendance at the American party plenum at that time as fraternal delegate of the Canadian party. We spent an entire evening together, frankly discussing our doubts and dissatisfaction with the way things were going in Russia (...)these thoughts we confider to each other at this meeting in Febrfyary 1928prepared the way for our getting together in Moscow at the Sixth World Congress. (...)

I think it is most fortunate, in the interest of hisorical acuracy, that your interview with Spector brought about this important detail about the origins of American Trotskyism and I am very glad that you have given me the opportunity to make good my omission and to confirm Spector's report *(referring to US historian Theodore Draper's history of American Communism –Ed.)*

(...) Spector's report of our collaboration in Moscow is identical with my account in *The History of American Communism* (...) I didn't remember that Sapector had also succceeded in bringing a copy of Trotsky's criticism of the program out of Russia, but I would take his own statement on that without question" (...)

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MAURICE SPECTOR (1898-1968)

Pioneer Canadian Socialist

by Ross Dowson

In New York City, on August 1, Maurice Spector died of cancer. He was 70 years old. His name is not now known by many but it already has an imperishable place and is certain to have a pre-eminent one when the true history of the working class struggles in Canada and indeed the rest of the world is written.

Maurice Spector was a founding leader of the Communist Party of Canada, and when that party succumbed to Stalinism he became the pioneer of its continuator, the Trotskyist movement, organized today in the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. Further, he played a key role at a crucial period in the international socialist movement by helping to make available to the world the ideas of Leon Trotsky and the Russian Left Opposition, whose efforts to uphold the principles of proletarian democracy and international socialism were being foully maligned and murderously crushed by the bureaucratic forces that had fastened themselves on the first workers state in the USSR.

As the early Communist Party's outstanding theoretician, orator and publicist, Spector accompanied the party's founding secretary Jack MacDonald to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928. There he was elected to the Executive Committee of the Comintern — the first Canadian to achieve that position. As a member of the program commission, he and James P. Cannon, a leader of the Communist Party of the United States, accidently secured a copy of Leon Trotsky's *Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International*. Trotsky had already been expelled from the CPSU and this document was kept from most of the delegates. Aware of the great significance of Trotsky's views, Spector and Cannon decided to smuggle the document out of the Soviet Union and conduct a common struggle for its ideas in their respective parties.

Shortly after returning to America, they and their first handful of supporters were expelled without debate. At first they functioned as a left opposition attempting to reform the Communist party. In 1934, following the destruction of the German CP without any serious resistance, they began, in alliance with widening forces around the world, to rebuild the revolutionary socialist movement from scratch.

Spector's identity with Trotsky's struggle was by no means accidental. He was always profoundly worldwide in his outlook. While at high school he developed an intense interest in socialism. He quickly found his way to those socialists in the Toronto area who adhered to an internationalist position and opposed World War I. The news of the Russian Revolution was having a stirring effect on an important group of socialists with whom in 1920 he helped found the Plebs League of Ontario. Despite his youth he was on the executive and quickly became known as a leading speaker.

With the encouragement of the Comintern, the Plebs League, together with the Toronto Workers Educational College headed by Jack MacDonald, and some Ukrainian and Finnish language organizations, formed the main forces that came together in Guelph in 1921 to found the Communist Party of Canada. While only 23 years of age Spector was elected to the executive committee and appointed to a three-man press committee. He edited the first issue of the party's underground paper, *The Communist*. With the emergence of the open Workers Party the following year, he was made the party's chairman and attended the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International as its delegate.

While the horizon of the majority of his comrades tended to be limited to the immediate tasks at hand, Spector always retained an intense interest in the revolution unfolding across the globe. In 1923, at the height of a revolutionary rebirth in Germany, Spector decided that an experience there would be of great value to the Canadian movement when the revolutionary wave advanced to North America.

Spector's experience in Germany led him to anticipate the identical

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PIONEERS. Photo taken in 1920's shows Maurice Spector, right, conferring with other founding leaders of the Communist Party. From left, William Moriarty, Tim Buck, and Jack MacDonald.

thesis as to the cause of the defeat that was put forward by Trotsky in his introduction to *Lessons of October*.

Before returning to Canada in the spring of 1924, Spector went to Moscow to attend the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets where he became acquainted to some degree with the struggle that had been raging in the CPSU. Spector's acquaintance with some of the issues at stake and his authority amongst his comrades resulted in the Canadian party being the only one in the world to oppose the attacks being made on Trotsky and the Left Opposition. When its delegate to the Fifth plenum of the ECCI asked for instructions as to the position he should take on the question of Trotskyism, the Canadian central executive committee wired its opposition to the attacks on Trotsky.

When Tim Buck at the Seventh plenum of the ECCI committed the Canadian party to Stalin, to a policy of denunciation of the Left Opposition, Spector offered to resign. But with the support of MacDonald he retained his position as party chairman and editor of *The Worker*.

Soon after the New Year, 1926, Spector had an opportunity to attend a plenum of the U.S. party where he learned of James P. Cannon's uneasiness about events in the USSR. He singled him out to express his support of Trotsky. They parted with no commitments as to what to do but with a certain bond of understanding. Their unity was cemented when, at the Sixth Congress, they were able to acquaint themselves with Trotsky's rounded view.

The instant expulsion of Cannon and his supporters from the U.S. party was used to force a sudden showdown with Spector who was summarily expelled. Immediately a massive campaign was launched to isolate him but Spector responded with an aggressive campaign of a public character. Within a short while the former chairman of the party and its leading theoretician was joined by its founding national secretary. Together Spector and MacDonald commenced the colossal task of rebuilding the movement.

In 1936 Spector went to New York to participate more closely with the leaders of the American Trotskyist movement. The constant harassment and the enormous difficulties of the work, together with the monstrous murder of the entire Bolshevik leadership through the Moscow frame-up trials, disheartened him and he quietly withdrew from political activity.

Although Spector left its ranks over thirty years ago, his contribution to the development, the defence and the regeneration of revolutionary Marxism was a monumental one.

Workers' Vanguard #156 - Aug. 26, 1968

from the critics corner

SOLDIERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL, a History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1919-1929, by William Rodney, University of Toronto Press, $7.50. Obtainable at Vanguard Bookstores.

The new generation of radical youth coming to the banner of revolutionary socialism will find this book of inestimable value in arriving at a correct understanding of the origins and development of their own struggles. It covers the great pioneer or formative period of revolutionary socialism in this country and thus provides essential material for an understanding of where we come from and where we are going.

Who were our predecessors, what were their names, what manner of men and women were they, what inspired them, what problems confronted them and what solutions did they find?

For the first time we possess a work that gives an essentially accurate idea of all this. It is a scholarly work, the fruit of tremendous, diligent and honest research. That the author, an associate professor of history at Royal Roads Military College, Victoria, has little understanding or sympathy with the ideas and heroic efforts of the chief protagonists of the drama he sketches, makes his work all the more remarkable.

Based on a serious examination of most if not all the key material, backed up by interviews with such widely divergent personalities as Maurice Spector, expelled for Trotskyism in 1928, and Stewart Smith, chief Stalinist mouthpiece who left the CP following Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's crimes almost 30 years later, it gives a picture which, if not a completely rounded one, is essentially accurate. In fact, possibly due to the particular position the author holds, it contains material from sources which would not be available to other researchers on this theme.

The author attributes "the failure" of the Communist Party to its Marxist theory, although the story that he relates ends with the expulsion from the party of its Marxist leadership: its founding secretary Jack MacDonald and its leading (Marxist) theoretician, its chairman and the editor of its press, Maurice Spector.

A continuing theme throughout the book is that "the Russian connection," if not at every point, was overall a harmful, even fatal influence on the youthful party. However it is obvious, even from the material provided by the author, that the influence of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International for a whole period, even if on occasion it was mistaken, was an honest one and had very positive benefits for the pioneering revolutionary socialists. It was instrumental in bringing about a needed unity of forces. It encouraged the formation of an open party and an open press, against the "undergrounders" who included Tim Buck in their ranks, and gave valuable advice on mass work, on the political arena through the Labor party formations, and on the trade union plane through the Trade Union Educational League.

It is true that the fate of the CP was ultimately determined, not on strictly Canadian issues but on the international arena, by the Comintern. But that was only after the victory of the bureaucracy that grew up on the isolated Russian workers state, headed by Stalin, over the Marxist-Leninist opposition led by Leon Trotsky, both in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Third International.

As a pioneer effort in this complex field, it is inevitable that this book should contain some errors. One instance is Rodney's acceptance of the idea that Jack MacDonald at the time of his expulsion was an adherent of the views of the U.S. CP leader Jay Lovestone and the Soviet theoretician N. Bukharin. This has been seduously fostered by such Stalinized concoctions as Tim Buck's *Thirty Years, 1922-1952*, and Leslie Morris' *The Story of Tim Buck's Party 1922-1939*, perhaps to smear MacDonald by association with the shameless renegade that Lovestone degenerated into, or to cover over the damaging fact that the two founding leaders of the CPS clearly saw Trotsky as upholding the banner to which they had first rallied.

Maurice Spector, in a lengthy interview with this writer in the Spring of 1962, categorically denied that MacDonald had ever been a supporter of Lovestone's "American exceptionalism." He recalled no evidence of any kind, either documentary or spoken.

The expulsion of MacDonald, says Rodney, "marked the end of an era in the history of the Communist Party of Canada." With that maneuver the leadership was turned over to Tim Buck and Stewart Smith who rapidly Stalinized the small and inexperienced forces. But the efforts to establish a socialist Canada and to build an instrument capable of leading the struggle for its realization, commenced 10 years earlier by Jack MacDonald, Maurice Spector, Max Armstrong, Jack Kavanaugh, the Buhays, Florence Custance, etc., didn't end in 1929.

Rodney has Spector and MacDonald joining forces to carry on the struggle (in 1931 they launched the *Vanguard*), but he has it end in failure and Spector's emigration to New York in 1936. Spector became inactive, but MacDonald continued to participate with new forces in the work that he had initiated. While Stalinism destroyed invaluable forces, subsequent experiences brought not only Jack Kavanaugh over to Trotskyism but Max Armstrong, Malcolm Bruce, and others.

Thus the story that Rodney relates proves conclusively not to be so much historical minutiae or merely a series of interesting anecdotes as he tends to leave it, but a vital episode in the advancing struggle towards a socialist Canada. This is a book that no serious socialist can afford to be without.

by R.D.

SPEECH ON SPECTOR & "SOLDIERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL"

(Transcribed from R.D. speech notes, August, 1968)

Soldiers of the International (the CPC 1919-1929), 1968,
by William Rodney, U. of Toronto Press, Toronto

The occasion of this talk is the recent publication of a book entitled "Soldiers of the International" by an associate professor of history at Royal Road Military College in Victoria BC, and the death of a man in New York on August 1st at the age of 70.

This man was a Canadian who has not participated in a direct sense in the Canadian political life for thirty years, who withdrew from the life which he made his most notable contribution, and abandoned his beliefs for which alone he is notable. A man who is unknown to the present generation, but whose role in the history of the Canadian revolutionary socialist movement is imperishable: Maurice Spector.

The dual aspect of this forum is quite logical: the book is a study of the Communist Party of Canada 1919 to 1929, and Spector is the leading actor in this drama. Insofar as the theme of the book is of importance, so too is our commemoration of Maurice Spector of importance.

Just a month ago the conventions of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes were held. Where does this movement, the Canadian revolutionary socialist movement of today, come from? “Dowson's boys” – called Trotskyists, referring to the leader of the October Revolution, socialist theoretician, famous for the theory of permanent revolution, founder of the Fourth International. Who were it's leaders and what is it's record?

Some seek the new, but no particular attributes, particularly when you realize that there is an extensive history of struggle such as we are involved in, in Canada and across the globe. Our theory is commencing with Marx and the historic events which have tested all his ideas. Where do we come from – what are our roots? And where are we going? At best the NDP, as significant as it is, can only be a stage in the struggle of the Canadian workers. As for the CP today, there is no movement more discredited.

We are for a socialist revolution in this country. We are trying to build an instrument capable of leading it, the sooner the better. We are not the first in Canada to have this view. Pioneer communists held this view, including Spector; we're harking back to the pioneer.

Spector’s struggle lasted from 1929 to 1936 – 7 years – to uphold Leninism, with "Mac" (Jack MacDonald), in the period of the Left Opposition and the Workers Party. Spector's important contribution not only opened the international struggle but laid the foundations of the League for Socialist Action. Spector, even in his abandonment of Bolshevism didn't join the renegades. He was threatened with deportation, and Canada refused him admission. He was threatened with deportation to the Soviet Union but the American Civil Liberties Union prevented it.

Spector attended the 6th World Congress of the Communist International as a delegate of the Communist Party of Canada. James P. Cannon of the (U.S.) Socialist Workers Party (was in attendance as well). He smuggled out Trotsky's "Criticism of the Draft Program," was expelled from the CPC and became the first of the Trotskyist cadres in Canada.

The CI *(Communist International, or Comintern – ed.)* subsequently rebuffed the Canadian leadership for it's "expression of support for Leon Trotsky." Spector continued as chairman, editor and chief reporter (for the CPC journal). He was the first Trotskyist in early 1928, soon making contact with Cannon, Abern and Schachtman (central leaders of the SWP).

The November 1933 Vanguard (reports:) "It is necessary to build a new party and a new International," as it's position as "Left Opposition" was abandoned. The June 15, 1934 Vanguard (published an article) "For the Fourth International."

Bossovitch, who was the Ukrainian leader and national organizer of the UFLT and founder of the CPC, was expelled by the end of 1931 or 1932.

Author Rodney perpetuates the myth of MacDonald's "Lovestoneism" – as espousing the concept of "American exceptionalism." Rodney sees the CI as the fatal connection for the young CPC. He judges the CPC doomed when it sought and secured Russian help. Rodney identifies Bolshevism with Stalinism.

(1) but it was the Russian influence that revived hope after the debacle of 1914-1918 and the betrayal or inadequacy of all other influences. Cannon asks (referring to Draper's history of the USCP) – those who rejected the Russian influence – where did they go? What of the members of the SLP (De Leon's Socialist Labor Party), the SP of C (the Socialist Party of Canada, or the) CCF (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation) – where did they go?

(2) it was the Russian influence that brought about the unity of various forces on the Left.

(3) it was this influence that helped put out the first paper, The Communist under Spector's leadership

(4) it was instrumental in overcoming those who wanted to remain underground (including Bakunin?)

(5) the Russian influence established an open paper, Workers Guard (Scott's advice was not always accepted).

By 1925 William Moriarty, in the midst of the anti-Trotsky intrigue in the CPC asked the party for a directive. Spector openly confirmed his identity with Leon Trotsky, following which the party sent it's reproof to the Comintern (see page 95 of "Soldiers of the International").

“The cable, dated April 8, 1925, ran:

‘The Executive Committee is not convinced on the basis of evidence obtained, that the Comintern is actually menaced and confronted with a system constituting Trotskyism. Notwithstanding Trotsky’s mistakes prior to 1917 and during the course of the revolution, we are unconvinced that the implications of the ‘permanent revolution’ theory attributed to him are actually entertained by Trotsky and that he contemplates revision of Leninism. We are of the opinion that the prestige of the Comintern has not been enhanced here by the bitterness of the anti-Trotsky attack. No request from leading elements or party membership for discussion in the Party press.’ ’’

This book is important, a big stride in providing much of the true picture of our origins. The fact that subsequently the CI deteriorated and imposed false policies, manipulated the Leadership, expelling Spector, and maneuvered to expel MacDonald, is only part of the picture. Of this revolutionary period we can say that the book "Soldiers of the International," subtitled "a History of the CPC 1919-1929" deals with the great pioneer period. It deals with a period practically unknown even by interested radicals, and what they know is almost totally false. It deals with the period when the CP was an honest party, with the days when it commanded respect of the best workers in Canada -- particularly the youth -- before it's credit, it's integrity, ran out.

How does this book stack up? Other histories – Tim Buck's "30 years, 1922-1952" is not a serious study, but an apologia by the man who more than any other person destroyed the CPC. This book (by Rodney) is the first serious study – scholarly, with interviews, unique sources; it tells the main story in an essentially accurate way, although – despite – the efforts of the author, who has no feel for the subject, no sympathy or understanding for the actors, and doesn't in any way share their ideals. He attributed the failure of the CP to its Marxist ideas.

It is like dead history, as if at 1929 with the Stalinization of the CPC, the struggle stopped, as if the characters in the drama ceased to exist. Rodney correctly sees the demise of he PC as a revolutionary force with the expulsion of MacDonald in November 1930, two years after Spector.

But contrary to his report (pages 167 and 170): “After his break with the CPC, MacDonald and Spector joined forces in attempting to form an opposition Communist Party more in keeping with their views. The enterprise failed for lack of support, and ended when Spector left to settle in New York in 1936. MacDonald, though he remained a dedicated Marxist, never again resumed political activity. He died in Toronto on November 28, 1941.’’

The movement continued

The struggle to build the revolutionary socialist party didn't end – we are here, as big as life, working hard and growing. In fact, in 1929 we entered a new phase. Spector, the primary founder of the CP, inspired by the Russian Revolution, who read Leon Trotsky's dispatches in the Mail & Empire, and who at 19 years old attended a meeting of the SDP

(Social Democratic Party) and ILP (Independent Labor Party), where he met Florence Custance and Marx Armstrong and with them organized the Plebs League (subsequently the Ontario Labor College), and in 1920 made contact with the United CP of America.

He came into conflict with the rival Workers Educational Club, under the leadership of Jack MacDonald. He was part of the ferment which saw the rapid development of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party, and the Canadian Finnish Organization. But it was the leadership of Custance, Bell, MacDonald, Buck, Buhay and Spector (whom the CI contacted), that lead to the foundation of the CP of Canada at a conference in Guelph on May 23, 1921.)

Remarkable was the youth of the Central Committee: Buck was 30 years old, Becky Buhay 26, Custance 40, MacDonald 33 and Spector 23. On February 17, 1922 the Workers Party was launched, with it's National Chairman MacDonald, Vice-Chairman Max Armstrong, Editor Kavanagh, with assistants Spector and Peel.

Spector's international outlook

Spector's international outlook was dominant, see pp 71-72: in 1923 " while news of an expected revolution in Germany caused some speculation within the Canadian communists' upper echelons, the majority of the CEC *(executive committee)* were too engrossed in their own problems to give the German situation much attention. Maurice Spector, editor of The Worker, alone became increasingly absorbed in the possibilities of revolution in Germany, and the prospect of a further extension of communist rule, this time in an advanced, industrialized country. When the German uprising in October failed, Spector, disappointed, went to Moscow in January 1924 for consultation with the Comintern. Spector summarized and analyzed for the CPC executive the underlying causes of the German communists' failure to spark a full-scale uprising. His report was a surprisingly accurate and succinct appraisal of the prevailing views and of the causes underlying the October fiasco. Spector anticipated the identical thesis put forward by Trotsky in his Introduction to "Lessons of October'' Unknowingly, Spector had become one of the Western Hemisphere's first Trotskyites.''

The fate of the Canadian section lay in the international arena – MacDonald didn't understand this. The Canadian problem couldn't be solved outside the international question.

(notes end)

CANADA - U.$. RELATIONS -- A socialist viewpoint

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Part 1: On Americanization: A reply to Prof. Mathews

The previous issue of the Vanguard *carried a letter from Professor Robin Mathews who with Professor John Steele, also of Carleton University, Ottawa, initiated a protest against the influx of foreign professors (largely U.S.) into Canada and what they call the Americanization of Canadian universities.*

This protest has since roused considerable interest. The Emergency Symposium on the Americanization of Canadian universities held in Montreal in mid-May not only attracted over 100 university teachers and students but featured a widely publicized address supporting the main line of the Mathews-Steele protest by Hugh MacLennan, professor of literature at McGill. and Canada's most eminent novelist.

Professor Mathews" first letter was in response to an article on this question appearing in our June 16 issue. With this issue we reproduce another letter from Professor Mathews expressing the desire that we carry the discussion further on several questions related to the Americanization of Canadian universities. Since John Riddell, the author of the original article, is on holidays, we asked Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, to reply. August 11, 1969

The working people of Canada are indebted to Professors Mathews and Steele and those associated with the Emergency Symposium on the Americanization of Canadian Universities for their penetrating research. The facts that they have unearthed are infuriating the Establishment and even startling those who have for sometime been aware of the tremendous and persistent pressure of American capitalism's cultural values on Canada. Canadian culture, in so far as it exists, is incapable of withstanding this pressure. Only Quebec, with its long tradition, protected by its own language, has proven able to resist. Indian culture, un assimilable by capitalism, has been pushed into tiny, isolated side pockets.

The prevailing ideas in any society are the ideas of the ruling class of that society. Canadian capitalism, as distinct from English and even more so U.S. capitalism, has no culture of its own. It is a transplant, with its roots, while thick, widespread and interlocked, lying close along the surface.

Not only has Canadian capitalism no culture of its own, as distinct from that of U.S. capitalism, but the Canadian capitalist class, its overall interests expressed by its political henchmen of the Liberal and Tory parties, sees its fate as a class inextricably tied to the fate of U.S. capitalism. Hence not only has it no means with which to restrain U.S. Pressures, it has no real interests in doing so.

With U.S. capitalism continuing to expand its influence in the economic structure of Canada it is no wonder that its influence should ever more blatantly find expression in the universities. And not only through professors who come from the U.S., some of whom no doubt are not only ignorant of but also contemptuous of Canadian social questions, but through Canadian born professors whose views often unconsciously correspond to the views of the Canadian ruling class with its concept of junior partnership with the U.S. niling class — views which could be said to denote a "colonialist mentality."

What is to be done about this "Americanization" of Canadian universities?

Professor Mathews would put the question of Canadian sovereignty in the center of the Canadian stage. He points out that should the Vietnam war end, Canadian complicity "in the undesirable foreign policies of the U.S.A. will not be ended until Canadians assert

sovereignty over foreign affairs," and he adds, "Of course Canadians won't do that until they assert sovereignty over internal affairs."

When Professor Mathews says "Canadians" we assume that he means the great majority of the Canadian people, the working people who have little or no say in the ruling of the country. The ruling class, the tiny handful of capitalists who make all the key decisions from the board rooms of the banks, trusts and major corporations, through the entire state apparatus, including Trudeau's cabinet, are Canadians. They haven't sold out, they cannot be said to be carrying out an "American" policy. They are implementing a capitalist policy, a policy framed by the no means inconsequential interests of the Canadian capitalist class both here in Canada and elsewhere where they have extensive imperialist holdings.

For "Canadians" to assert their sovereignty, for the *working people* to assert their sovereignty over this country requires their taking power into their own hands. This will only be done by mobilizing around a program that expresses the needs of the working people and takes them forward in action to win the power — a program that gives nothing to anti-Americanism, nothing to any illusory concepts of national unity but is directed entirely towards uniting the workers as £ class against Canadian capitalism.

Professor Mathews has made a series oi proposals which in our opinion do not serve the aim he sets himself. They take the form of quotas, restrictions on foreign-born (U.S.) professors. The Waterloo report suggests that all major university posts be reserved for Canadians.

What does it mean to place sovereignty in the center of the stage — the university stage — to reverse the trend and to turn the universities into institutions to serve the working class? The universities are run by boards of governors composed of Big Business spokesmen and their hangers-on. It is their policies that result in the downgrading of Canadian studies. The answer on the university stage is student power — student-faculty control of the universities!

The major force advancing in the direction of establishing the rule of the people in this country is the New Democratic Party and the trade union movement which forms its base. Any program that seeks to establish the sovereignty of the Canadian people over their affairs both internal and external must serve to strengthen the organized labor movement and the NDP in the direction of arming them for power and directing them on to the path to workers power.

JProfessor Mathews gave an address to a union body early in July. He was ecstatic in his identification with the assembly. The only problem is that it was the constitutional convention of the Council of Canadian Unions. This is composed of a handful of unions, mostly locals, which have raised the independence of Canadian unions from the international unions, which are the mainstream of Canadian labor, to the level of a principle. They don't in any way represent a militant tendency with a perspective of growth but attempt to sustain themselves by appealing to a hodge-podge of radical and ultra conservative opinion.

In his letter above Professor Mathews interprets Hugh MacLennan's failure to respond to an appeal by his U.S. born colleagues to support the anti-Vietnam war movement as not what it would appear to be, but rather an expression of dissatisfaction that Canadian activists accept U.S. terms of activism — not Canadian terms.

We are not sure as to the meaning of Mathews' reference to McGill. Does he mean the demonstration for turning McGill into a French university? We would assure Professor Mathews that the activists against Canadian complicity in Vietnam were in the forefront of the McGill francais demonstration. In fact life itself has shown that Washington's genocidal war against the people of Vietnam, along with the Black struggle in the U.S., has proven instrumental in awakening ever new strata of Canadian youth who become the vanguard in the Quebec liberation struggle, in the student power actions, in the unions, and the NDP.

What Professor Mathews calls "continentalist" socialism in the Canadian Left is by no means a kind of "sentimentalism." It is internationalism — a much more profound

concept than sentimentalism, than identification or solidarity with struggles of American workers that are parallel to our own struggles. Our internationalism is based on the profound understanding that our struggle can fulfill itself only through the establishment of a Socialist United States of North America. Now that the rulers of America have assumed the responsibility for the security of capitalism and imperialism on a world scale it is obvious that no victory of the working class, not to speak of one in adjoining Can ada, is secure until the monster is destroyed in its own lair, by a successful socialist revolution in the United States of America itself.

With regard to the two sayings that Professor Mathews tacks onto his letter* the latter surely refers to the relations between the two capitalist states and those who assume the responsibility to defend the interests of their respective ruling classes. The political representatives of the Canadian capitalist class do not require our advice as to how to defend their interests. We can rest assured that their criminal support of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, their support of NATO and NORAD, does not go unrewarded in profitable contracts of various kinds.

The first saying, which dismisses the United States of America with its 200 million population as one solid lump of reaction, is not only the stock-in-trade of the most, crude anti-Americanism, but projects a perspective of utter pessimism and defeat. Of course there is that qualification that a "real" U.S. left doesn't exist. There are co-thinkers of the LSA/LSO in the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, not to mention other revolutionary tendencies, but of course they do not yet encompass in their ranks great masses any more than does the "real" Canadian left.

Yesterday, perhaps, on the grounds of empirical observations, there was some basis for questioning the possibilities in the U.S. But today, "with the Black revolt, the rise in student radicalism (of which the Harris Poll shows "the potential . . . has not begun to be tapped,") and the anti-Vietnam war movement, which continues to rise to new heights and is now reaching right into the ranks of the U.S. armed forces, there is absolutely no grounds for such cynicism.

To dismiss the U.S. left, to dismiss the U.S. socialist revolution, is to see American capitalism, the powerhouse of world wide reaction, as remaining entrenched in its position of power. It is in reality to despair of the future of all mankind.

** I will leave you with two sayings. "There is but one real truth to grasp about the U.S. Left — the real U.S. Left — and that is that it doesn't exist." "Canada-U.S. relations are defined by the good old fashioned principle of give and take. Canada gives. The U.S. takes."* Robin Mathews

CANADA-U$ RELATIONS -- A socialist viewpoint

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Part 2: LSA/LSO Statement

The following document was adopted by the 1968 convention of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. It deals with many of the questions now being discussed in the growing debate over U.S. control of the Canadian economy, culture and political life. Presenting as it does the revolutionary socialist position on US-Canadian relations, we believe it is of particular relevance to the debate on "Canadian nationalism" within the New Democratic Party.

Relations between Canada and the United States have always been a dominant factor in Canadian politics. The British Conquest was largely motivated by the determination of the British Crown to build a military bastion on this side of the Atlantic from which it hoped to defeat the revolutionary New England states. Confederation was primarily carried through to overcome the immediate threat of the secession of the West to the United States or its conquest by the United States.

Today, along with the longstanding and now built-in deficit in trade relations, a decisive factor in Canada-US. relations has become the extent of U.S. capital investment in the Canadian economy. It is greater than the combined total of United States investment in all of Latin America and arrogates to itself political power appropriate to such a massive investment.

Coupled with this direct influence is the fact that U.S. capitalism, the last firm bulwark of world capitalism, has had thrust upon it and has seized the responsibility of sustaining capitalism as a system on an international scale -- Canadian capitalism included.

Junior partner

The rising forces of the world socialist revolution, together with the declining position of all other capitalist powers and their weak position, both in absolute terms and relative to the U.S. colossus -their deteriorating position in world trade, their inability to sustain an effective military force in the era of super-costly intercontinental ballistic missiles and nuclear devices to promote and defend their own particular interests-has forced them to become, if not completely subservient, reluctant, but nonetheless compliant tools, or at best junior partners of Wall Street and its imperialist interests. This is true in the case of the biggest and most solvent capitalist powers including those where U.S. investment plays little direct role in their economy.

The dynamic of U.S. capitalism and the world situation has overcome the economically artificial division of the northern sector of the American continent by an east to west border, not by violating this border or by Canada's absorption into the U.S. as the 51st state, but through trade and investment. In fact, it serves the interests'bf U.S. capitalism to maintain the myth of Canadian "sovereignty and independence."

The Canadian capitalist class is a powerful, tightly integrated, highly conscious and cohesive force, firmly in control of the state apparatus which it has constructed and shaped to serve its interests. The position of the Canadian capitalist class in control of the Canadian state apparatus is not challenged by U.S. capitalist interests.

But while in control of the state, the Canadian capitalist class is by no means in control of the Canadian economy -- in fact it is less in control than the rulers of any other advanced capitalist country in the world.

Who rules Canada?

The facts of the colossal weight of U.S. capital investment are unchallengeable. Its scope, its myriad points of contact and influence, no doubt exert a decisive influence on Canadian political life (as well as on its social and cultural life) and Canada's role in the world conflict between capitalism and the forces of the international socialist revolution.

Does U.S. capital dominate the Canadian economy through control of what might be described as its strategic or decisive sectors? This question has been posed in an attempt to settle the somewhat formalistic question -- Does the Canadian capitalist class actually rule Canada or does the U.S. capitalist class in effect own and rule Canada?

The strategic position of U.S. capital investment in relationship to what might be called strictly Canadian capital and their relative roles in the determination of Canadian affairs is not only difficult to assess but as we will see is largely irrelevant. If at other times there were conflicting antagonistic interests which caused the Canadian capitalist class to pursue or attempt to pursue policies that took it into real conflict with the U.S. ruling class, this is no longer the situation. It is now apparent that the Canadian capitalist class has arrived at a mutually agreeable relationship with U.S. capital in their common exploitation of the work force of this country and its vast natural resources. The rationalization of the auto industry on a continental basis is taking place with particular and carefully worked out adjustments as to the overall impact on the Canadian-U.S. economy.

Special role

Far from seeking to conquer Canadian capitalism and to assimilate Canada into the United States, the American ruling class has sensitively developed a special role for Canada in their global imperialist strategy.

Washington has made special adjustments and concessions in order to keep the Canadian economy on an even keel. It has exempted U.S. investment in Canada from complying to special regulations that would have created difficulties for the Canadian economy. It has developed a working relationship which places the preservation of Canadian imperialist investments-many of which are undoubted fronts for U.S. imperialist interests-under the protective wing of the rapacious eagle. It has even worked out plans whereby it could hope to effectively quell revolutionary developments in Canada which might imperil U.S.-Canadian capitalist interests -- Operation Camelot. *(Document footnote: Project Camelot was a Pentagon study of the revolutionary potential of certain Latin American countries, and included Quebec).*

In return for these and other services, the Canadian bourgeoisie have defended all down the line the unpopular U.S. imperialist assault against the Vietnamese people, remained committed to the costly and completely militarily outmoded alliances of NATO and NORAD, and suffered the ignominy of U.S.-controlled corporations flagrantly violating Canadian law.

Thus in reality the relationship of the Canadian capitalist class vis-à-vis the U.S. capitalist class can best be described as that of partner -- junior partner.

Radicalization

Ever-widening layers of the Canadian working class and petty bourgeoisie are developing an understanding and sympathy for the popular struggles developing across the globe -- and they see Washington as the ruthless and bloody subverter of these struggles. An increasing number question the whole rationale of the cold war and its pacts and alliances such as NATO and NORAD -- they are beginning to see the United States, and not the USSR and the workers states, as the aggressive military force that threatens mankind with a world war and possible nuclear destruction.

They see the U.S. as a violent society, a racist society, and a huckster society, reflected in the TV, radio programs, the books and the magazines that flood across the border. An increasing number are developing a concern about the flagrant violation of the law by U.S.-based corporations in this country which leads to loss of trade and, of course, jobs for Canadian workers.

These above tendencies have been designated in some circles as nationalist -- Canadian nationalism. The term is a misnomer, causing confusion rather than giving insight into this phenomenon, its dynamics and direction. More correctly, it should be designated as

an elemental anti-imperialist sentiment -- developing towards an anti-capitalist consciousness. Because it is essentially anti-imperialist, it finds no basis of support in any sector of the Canadian capitalist class and its spokesmen, who defend U.S. imperialism not only out of a natural affinity but with a clear understanding that their fate is inextricably tied to that of the U.S. ruling class.

Nationalism in advanced capitalist countries such as Canada has traditionally been a tool of the ruling class. In 1939 the banner of national unity was raised in order to gear the nation, specifically the working class, to sacrifice their lives in an imperialist world war. It is now being raised to mobilize English-speaking Canada against the legitimate struggle of the Québécois for their national rights. This bourgeois nationalism stands in the way of a class differentiation in society -- in particular, the development of class consciousness amongst the workers and, where the workers are already organized along class lines, is designed to fracture them.

Apologists for U.S. rulers

What in common with this, has the phenomenon which we can see developing across the country over the question of Canada-U.S. relations?

Far from promoting this "nationalism" the Canadian ruling class, their parties and their spokesmen, stand firmly united against it. The bourgeoisie show such unshakeable and impervious unity in their acquiesence before U.S. imperialism and its domination over Canadian internal and external affairs that they expose themselves more and more as apologists and lickspittles for the U.S. ruling class. Thus we have Prime Minister Trudeau publicly declaring that Canada can only have the relationship to the U.S. that Poland has as a satellite to the USSR, and his various ministers stating that Canada must sell military supplies for use by the U.S. in its genocidal aggression in Vietnam or suffer the gravest economic dislocation -- unemployment, etc., etc.

This brand of "nationalism," far from uniting the nation behind the bourgeoisie, far from smearing over class lines, is tending to unite the overwhelming majority of all other classes and sub-classes against the bourgeoisie. It is discrediting the traditional parties of the bourgeoisie as not representing any interest that could be said to be Canadian, as being in essence agents of another power -- a foreign power, U.S. imperialism -- whose role is increasingly becoming more clear and more hated and more feared.

In fact the traditional parties are discrediting not only themselves but the very state institutions that have been erected to cover over the real power structure. They are saying that these institutions in reality have no power that can prevail over the economic power of the U.S. ruling class.

In admitting that they are party to Canada's internal and external policy being made in Washington and Wall Street, the bourgeois parties are even performing the salutary task of undermining the parliamentary illusions of the Canadian people. They are underscoring the need for the working class to take the power and to lay down new economic foundations from which new social relations will form.

Demagogy

The bourgeoisie, of course, have not ignored this sentiment. Tory leader Diefenbaker gave it a high priority in his 1963 campaign. Although he never moved off the plain of nationalist demagogy in his high-powered bid to retain office, this lost him the confidence of every important sector of the bourgeoisie. The Liberals assigned Walter Gordon the task of encompassing this anti-imperialism, to which they gave a nationalist interpretation, within the Liberal Party, and even struck off a commission under Melville Watkins to investigate foreign investment. Both Gordon and the Watkins report have been pigeon-holed.

It was this "betrayal of Canadian independence" that prompted the editors of *Canadian Dimension,* an important journal of liberal petty bourgeois opinion with considerable influence inNDP intellectual circles, to issue an appeal in 1967. It urged that the "long-term" socialist solution be put on ice in order to realize the primary task of establishing Canadian independence through a new political formation that would be "politically non-partisan and would cut across racial, regional and class lines."

The response to *Canadian Dimension's* strictly nationalist appeal -- reportedly, only four elderly Tories on the Prairies wrote in - is extremely revealing. Canadian Dimension's appeal broke up on the reality that the sentiments to which it attempted to appeal were not nationalist but essentially anti-imperialist and therefore class sentiments in terms of Canadian political life. Nor did the Communist Party get anywhere with its crudely anti-American supra-class appeal for the construction of an anti-monopoly peoples' coalition that would encompass in its ranks those elements of the bourgeoisie who would put the interests of the nation before profits. The same goes for the Progressive Workers Movement (Maoist). It's more radical-sounding appeal proved unable to raise the process even a millimeter higher onto the first stage of its projected national liberation struggle that would encompass sections of the bourgeoisie.

Radical sentiment

This anti-imperialist sentiment is an important fact of Canadian political and social life. To accept or pin the label nationalist on it is not only to designate it incorrectly. It leads to a dismissal, if not an opposition to it. On the contrary, we must recognize the essentially radical character of this anti-imperialist sentiment and develop it.

As U.S. imperialism is driven to ever more desperate, more openly vicious lengths in its role as defender of capitalism everywhere, opposition will continue to mount. In country after country this will sharpen working class opposition to the capitalist class who identify their fate with the fate of U.S. imperialism. The working class movements will increasingly bring to the fore demands for an independent policy of opposition to U.S. imperialism. The demand for an independent foreign policy for Canada-one of solidarity with the colonial peoples' freedom struggle and trade and aid with Cuba, China and the other workers states-will become more popular.

To recognize this anti-US. imperialism and develop it is to concede nothing at all to any form of anti-American chauvinism. On the contrary the most effective anti-imperialist activists here have found tremendous forces right inside the U.S. with which to identify and link up their struggle. The Canadian anti-war movement -has developed its most successful actions in solidarity with the much more massive anti-Vietnam war actions in the U.S. In the process it has deepened the understanding of the Canadian workers as to the character of their own bourgeoisie through its effective campaigns against the Canadian government's complicity with the U.S. in the Vietnam war.

Socialist position

It would be a tragic error to get hung up on broad abstract formulas and thus fail to make a correct assessment of the actual situation The revolutionary socialists have successfully evaded this sectarian danger. We did not oppose the moves towards setting up Canadian unions separate, independent and apart from the so-called international unions on some abstract principle that we are internationalist and revolutionary and this was nationalist and hence reactionary. We considered that the support this had among militants was largely a reaction against the undemocratic manipulations of the trade union bureaucracy. We expressed our sympathy with this, and to those who would listen we cautioned that bureaucracy was endemic to reformist unions in our epoch and cannot be escaped merely by setting up an autonomous Canadian union (see "*Power and Dilemma of the Trade Unions"* in *Workers' Vanguard*, April May and July 1967). We also attempted to make an overall evaluation of the situation and concluded that there was really no significant trend in this direction, that these forces were not viable and were generally composed of conservative elements.

Nor are we indifferent to the increasing economic penetration of US. capital into Canada, its increasing control of the economy and what goes with that -- its determination of Canada's role in world affairs. All the less can we be indifferent in that the Canadian working class is organized in a mass reformist party and we, aspiring to establish ourselves as its vanguard, are seriously projecting the possibility of anNDP government. The concept that U.S. penetration besides being an inevitable process, is a progressive phenomenon on the way to shaping up an integrated North American economy that would provide the foundation for a Socialist United States of America, is a hangover from pre-Leninist concepts of imperialism. Such "long-sightedness" would bring us down in the quick-sands immediately in front of us.

The Canadian economy is not only being grossly distorted, serving as a low wage sector

of the U.S. economy, but it is an integral part of the latter's imperialist war machine directed at the rest of mankind which it threatens with total destruction.

Public ownership

We have advocated the public ownership of the basic means of production so that the economy can be planned and production geared to use. This is our general propaganda line -- we have not worked out any list of priorities and in fact have presented this viewpoint in general around issues of the day. In response to the curtailments of railway services and attendant layoffs we have called for the public ownership of the CPR and its fusion with the CNR. It was a matter of indifference whether the CPR was or is now basically U.S.-owned. With the closure of the Dosco coal mines we urged their nationalization along with the Sydney steel mills, and their operation in an integrated Maritimes development plan.

The issue of economic domination is already being debated, and answers are being projected. There is the proposal to "open up to Canadian stockholders, buy into American corporations," the "buy Canada back" proposition; and the proposal to establish a supplementary public sector in order to develop a more specialized competitive economy. Since U.S. branch plants include many of the key industries, there can be no serious talk of public ownership and planning without nationalization of U.S. capital interests. Without making public ownership of U.S. interests a general demand, as U.S. interests violate Canadian law by refusing to accept orders from Cuba and China, etc., the question of their nationalization increasingly comes to the fore. This is not the separating out of "bad" capitalists from "good" capitalists for "punishment" by nationalization, but popularizing the whole concept from necessity. The specific action is posed in defensive terms, which is always a good stance for the revolutionary deed.

A clear understanding of the progressive implications of this rising anti-imperialist sentiment is necessary so that we can meet the new challenges that it will pose before us -- particularly in so far as, thanks to our orientation to the New Democratic Party, we are today not restricted to academic educational work but are formulating policy for forces in a movement that is speaking to the masses.

CANADA-U$ RELATIONS -- A socialist viewpoint

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Part 3: Watkins Report filed in Government's Morgue

Now that the Watkins report on foreign investment in Canada has been handed down, broader layers of the Canadian people than ever before have the ready material to understand the nature of the Canadian economy and to gain further insight into the crucial question of what to do so that we can shape our own destiny.

One of the glaring facts coming out of the report by the eight economists headed by Melville Watkins, assigned by the Liberal government to investigate foreign investment, is that more key industries in Canada are under foreign control (predominantly American) than in any other developed country in the world.

General Motors — which hires 25,000 Canadian employees and whose decisions relating to them are crucial to communities across the country — owes allegiance to a U.S. corporate entity that is about a third the size of the entire Canadian economy. Since, like many other corporations, both U.S. and Canadian, it is registered as a private firm, the amount of profit it makes in Canada, the report says, is unknown. Shares are not avail able in Canada to even those few who can afford them.

The report records in some de tail one of the many ways that the U.S. ruling class and its state apparatus Violates Canadian sovereignty. This is through the enforcement of the U.S. Trading with the Enemy Act of 1917. Compliance of U.S. subsidiaries, in Canada with this act results in the blocking of many opportunities for trade (and jobs) with Cuba and China.

No one even superficially acquainted with the report can have any illusions that Canadian parliament, rather than the corporation board room, controls this country. And here, We are not speaking of board rooms on St. James and Bay Street — but board rooms twice re moved — on Wall Street and their political power-house,. Washington. Whole sectors of the economy, including many of the most strategic, are controlled by foreign capital. And these interests are so powerful that to a large degree it is they who determine not only Canada's national but its foreign policy.

The various actions taken by Ottawa with the declared aim of de fending Canadian sovereignty have failed miserably. The present anti-combines law is almost useless, according to the report — which is not surprising since it has proven to have been totally ineffective in dealing with completely Canadian-owned corporations. The guidelines for "good corporate behaviour" drawn up by Trade Minister Winters are dismissed as

irrelevant, in words that cannot hide the fact that in such matters' corporations consider that what is good for their profit sheet is good behaviour.

Where there is Canadian minority ownership in a U.S.-controlled firm, neither exports, imports, nor spend ing' on research, were any better. The suggestion is clear — the inter ests of U.S. and Canadian capital prove to be identical in this respect.

It isn't that the Canadian capital ist class is in a weak strategic position and unable to do anything about the overwhelming U.S. influence if it was in its interests to do so. Its capital is neither widely dispersed nor relegated to the fringes of the economy. As John Porter notes in his study Vertical Mosaic, it is a powerful tightly integrated and highly conscious force. It is firmly in control of the state apparatus which it has constructed and developed over the years until it has become "a finely polished tool to serve its interests.

Has it betrayed "Canadian sovereignty"? Sold out what the report calls "the national interest"? In so far as they cannot sell out what for them does not exist, other than as a demagogic phrase, the Canadian capitalist class has not sold out the "national interest." As far as the interests of the people who do the necessary work in this country are concerned, capital owes no loyalty to them whatever. The capitalists' loyalty is to capital. Is the Canadian economy short of capital, thus opening the way for continued U.S. penetration of the country? What ever the case, Canadian capital goes elsewhere — where it is most profit able. It has a 3.8 billion dollar stake in U.S. manufacturing, not to men tion its massive investments in Latin America — and Canadian mutual funds have been pouring into the U.S. to buy up U.S. securities (emphasis by the Web Ed.)

If there were any doubt left that the defence of the interests of the Canadian people lies in their efforts to build their own party, the NDP, and to take the power in their own hands, examine how Ottawa handled the Watkins report and the modest proposals that came out of it! Ac cording to the Toronto *Star's* Ottawa correspondent, Peter Newman, an opposition in the cabinet headed by Finance Minister Sharp and Trade Minister Winters wanted to pigeonhole it entirely. It only appeared with an unprecedented disclaimer on the cover.

Subsidies

As for the solutions, the *Financial Post's* Ottawa correspondent Clive Baxter states that "only one of the three new agencies proposed . . . is likely to be established," and even it, the Canada Development Corporation, "may not make it." Even a full blown CDC would do next to nothing to undercut U.S. capital's decision-making powers over Canada. Its purpose, according to *FP*, would be "to act as a financial catalyst, bring groups together

to underwrite nationally desirable projects" — to fill in, with the taxpayers' money, areas where "free enterprise" capital is not pre pared to go.

Thus we can see that the sentiments of those Canadians who, the report notes, are uneasy "as to the continuing viability of Canada as an independent state" — sentiments somewhat confusingly called nationalist — are not reactionary, but have every possibility of being won to a working class viewpoint.

Insofar as Canada can become "a sovereign state" it can only do so by becoming a workers state. The NDP projects that concept on a Canada-wide basis.

Public Ownership

But as long as the leadership of the NDP prove able to keep the party's program confined within the framework of the "cold war;" they gravely cripple its development. Ultimately, what alternative is there to public ownership of U.S. capital in this country that continues to violate the interests of the Canadian people? Not only must the party program speak out loud and clear against Washington's counter revolutionary aggression in Vietnam but it must campaign for the withdrawal of Canada from the U-S.-dominated aggressive military alliances of NATO and NORAD which promise only more assaults on popular freedom movements elsewhere.

Of course public ownership of foreign capital that violates the interests of the working people opens up the question of public ownership of Canadian capital that does likewise. And to vigorously oppose U.S. policy in Vietnam requires active opposition to Ottawa's complicity there and its policies right across the globe. March 4, 1968

Part 4: NDP Leader Taylor projects no real alternatives

The leadership of the New Democratic Party has failed to respond to the challenge posed by the increasing domination of U.S. capitalism over Canadian economic, political and cultural affairs, to the reaction of wide layers of the population that is called, somewhat confusingly, "Canadian nationalism."

In much the same way they have expressed only a token opposition to Washington's murderous aggression against the people of Vietnam and the Liberal government's: complicity. Their silence on both crucial questions has only served to focus attention on Privy Council President Walter Gordon's cheap demagogic forays from his entrenched position in the Liberal cabinet.

An article by NDP federal vice president Charles Taylor, entitled "The Alternative to Paralytic Continentalism," appearing in the January 1967 *NDP News* is a notable exception. "Only a party of the 'Left," he declares, "can pose the real issue and mobilize support for a creative alternative" to what he calls Canadian Business leadership's policy of greater continental integration of the Canadian economy with that of the U.S. "This is the historical vocation of the New Democratic Party as Canada enters its second century."

Taylor dismisses the Liberal, Tory, and Social Credit parties as forces that would in any way identify with a "national" policy, i.e., one that would defend the interests of the great majority of the Canadian people from submergence un der the juggernaught of American capitalism. He sees these parties as political instruments of the "business establishments," already com mitted to a policy of "greater and greater continental integration." It is "under this leadership," he notes, "that Canada has come to where it is."

Having declared that the labor party formation, the New Democratic Party, has the historical vocation of posing the real issue and mobilizing support for a "creative alternative," Taylor projects what is apparently the NDP leadership's version of the alternative.

The weight in the Canadian economy of capital owned and con trolled by U.S. investors. ($21.4 billion in 1964), the extent of actual corporate ownership through majority control, and the strategic position of this investment in the economy (60% of manufacturing, 74% of petroleum and natural gas and 59% of mining and smelting), are usually considered to be highly relevant to a discussion of "Canadian independence."' And correctly so. Taylor, however, dismisses both the amount of U.S. capital and the extent of its control.

Both are indeed irrelevant in so far as the Canadian capitalist class, who share the exploitation of Canadian natural resources and her work force with U.S. capital, see eye to eye with one another. Where there is conflict, Washington, which has assigned Canada a special role in its overall responsibility to sustain capitalist interests on a world scale, has shown a sensitive disposition to adjust to or to compensate any injured interests.

But Taylor, whose contribution is devoid of any class analysis, dis misses the whole question of owner ship and control on totally different grounds.

In passing he makes an apology for Britain's Wilson government "forced to toe the American line over Vietnam." It's "not because of a high degree of American owner ship of British industry," he writes *(and not because Wilson has assumed the role of caretaker of the drastically weakened British capitalist interests whose fate is inter locked with world and particularly U.S. capital interests—R.D.)* "but because of the weakness of the British trading position and the £." As if a weakness of trading position has nothing to do with the declining weight of British ownership (capitalism) in relation to U.S. ownership on an international scale.

In the Taylor schema ownership of capital or means of production — either foreign or Canadian — is no issue at all. The nub of the problem, according to him, is the tendency "to develop in Canada a 'branch plant economy'" — a structure which "inhibits us from striking out in new fields."

Taylor seeks to give a new dynamic to the Canadian economy, the Canadian *capitalist* economy, by developing a public sector which will initiate "a more specialized competitive economy" and in which "private and foreign capital would be encouraged to collaborate."

In order to sustain this position Taylor prettifies the position of Sweden, and even Japan, and presents a completely distorted picture of the Canadian economy.

He depicts. Sweden and Japan as having, through "achieving inter national pre-eminence in a certain limited number of fields," some unique economic independence, strength and dynamism. Whereas Canada, "developing like a miniature replica of the U.S.," is economically dependent on the U.S. "as a trading partner and as a source of capital."

The NDP Socialist Caucus pamphlet *The Myth of Swedish Socialism* (Box 872, Station F, Tor onto—15 cents), dispels not only the socialist myth but any and all concepts that in any appreciable way Sweden has removed itself from the pressure of the world market, over which U.S. capitalism holds sway.

The main character of the Canadian economy is not that it is fractured, with a multiplicity of pro duct ig units imposed by U.S. corporations on the same pattern of the much larger U.S. market. The Canadian economic structure is highly monopolized, with the key sectors not duplicating but supplementing the needs of the U.S. market. While this makes the Canadian economy particularly sensitive to the vagaries of the U.S. economy, it also places it in a powerful bargaining position. At any rate, to be tied to the U.S. economy is not the worst fate if one doesn't see any perspective for socialism. If capitalism continues to function it is U.S. capitalism and not British, German, French or any of the trade blocs, that is the most stable, dynamic and powerful.

Thus Taylor's program to counter Canada's cultural, economic and political subjection to U.S. capitalism is completely symmetrical with the NDP leadership's program to counter the domination of Canadian capitalism over the lives of the Canadian people — not public owner ship of the basic means of production but structural adjustments to capitalism in an attempt to make it more tolerable.

The powerful control that U.S. capitalism exerts over Canada, and the harmonious adjustment of Can adian capitalism to it, shows that it is capitalism itself — undifferentiated capitalism — that is the problem. That is why only the NDP, not the

present leadership but the party as a political instrument of organized labor, can "pose the real issue."

February 19, 1968

Part 5: Mr. Kierans and Mr. Sharpe -- Official Pleaders

When Liberal Party leadership aspirant Eric Kierans exclaims that he hopes "that never again will a Canadian government be forced, as happened last weekend, to telephone Washington and ask that American subsidiaries reduce their' withdrawal of funds from our country," he does more than score an easy point against his opposition. It was Finance Minister Mitchell Sharp who, on behalf of the Liberal government, had to plead to Washington to make this concession in its declaration to U.S. companies with foreign investments to repatriate their profits so that pressure would be eased off the dollar.

Kierans is giving voice to the feeling of dissatisfaction in wide layers of the population over Canada's cultural, economic and political subjection to those who rule the United States; to the "nationalism" that exists across the country from an increasing awareness of U.S. domination of Canada.

The publication within the next month of the long awaited report on the nature and consequences of foreign (U.S.) ownership of Canadian industry', supervised by Privy Council President Walter Gordon, who achieved a certain notoriety with his suggestion that Canada be bought back, from the U.S., is certain to give the Liberals the type of issue that they would prefer to talk about during the leadership contest — "Canadian nationalism." This is a much safer issue, certainly not the divisive issue that is presented by Quebec and the struggle by the Québécois for their national rights.

Another matter is to what use this Canadian "nationalism" will be put by the Liberal and Tory parties of Big Business, but there is certainly nothing reactionary in itself in the widening feeling of dissatisfaction about Canadian subservience to the United States — quite the contrary.

It would be a mistake for the political movement of the working class to fail to take cognizance of it. And just as bad, were it to get de railed by it.

Appeal to Nationalists

It was the latter danger that was reflected in the Open Letter to Canadian Nationalists which appeared in the special *Canadian Dimensions* May-June issue. The letter, signed by three editors of *CD.,* called for a new political formation that would be "politically nonpartisan and would cross racial, regional and class lines." The authors, while calling them selves "unregenerate socialists," urged all Canadians to "temporarily sink their differences."

As to be expected, this appeal, directed to the left — for of course *CD* has no influence whatsoever in the ruling class — came to nothing. Contrary to all the hopes that they will do so, neither the capitalist class nor its political parties, nor' any serious part of them has shown the slightest sign of thinking of, let alone launching, a new party, an "alliance" or a "movement" for Canadian "in dependence."

The most that has surfaced so far is Walter Gordon. After blowing off he quickly submerged again into the Liberal cabinet. He went no further than to make a few proposals such as that one quarter of the directors of foreign companies should be Canadian citizens and one quarter of their stocks should be held by Canadian investors. No one could expect much from U.S. corporations with a few Canadian citizens on their board when entire governments of Canadian citizens have acquiesed to arrogant intervention by the United States in Canadian affairs. More recently Gordon became an advocate of national trade unions. He urged autoworkers not to fall for the plot of their U.S. leaderships that they should have wage parity with U.S. autoworkers.

Interests Tied

Canadian ruling circles have accepted the relations of an inferior to the U.S. ruling class because, far from being challenged, their rule is reinforced by U.S. capitalist interests. They see their present and their future inextricably tied to that of the United States.

Not only do "Canadian national ists" feel uneasy about the legitimate aspirations of the Quebec nation which tend to fracture "national unity" — they are inclined to over look the fact that the Canadian capitalist class are imperialist, with considerable holdings in the West Indies, Mexico, Brazil and elsewhere, which Mr. Sharp, Mr. Winters and Mr. Gordon can never forget, if only from their direct personal experiences. What is there to defend these interests from the threat of revolution other than U.S. military might?

Ottawa has tolerated the ignominy of having such U.S. laws as the Trading With the Enemy Act en forced on companies operating in Canada, because from their own class viewpoint they agree with the aim of the act (embargo against Cuba and China). Whatever Cana dian interests might suffer from sustaining the U.S.-imposed embargo is rendered more than tolerable. For instance, under the NORAD agreements, Washington, in the face of protests from its own business circles, cut Canadian industry into a substantial share of the U.S. arms program.

Source of Protest

The protest against U.S. domination of Canadian economic, social and cultural life comes not from Canada's ruling circles or any substantial part of them. They have swallowed their pride for their over all class interests. It comes primarily from the working class and middle class.

The ruling class are confronted by an increasingly more powerful working class, organized on the economic front over one and a half million strong against undifferentiated capital — Canadian or foreign; and on the political front, in the NDP, challenging them for the political power. Thus Canada is not a unity but is already firmly divided along class lines.

Not only does this fact mitigate against the development of any supra-class formation organized in the interests of the nation, but it places the question of the defense, of the interests, of the vast majority of the Canadian people, not outside, but squarely inside the New Democratic Party.

As NDP federal Vice-President Charles Taylor says; "Only a party of the Left can pose the real issue and mobilize support for a creative alternative." In our next issue we will analyze Taylor's viewpoint which is widely supported in leading NDP circles.

February 5, 1968

CANADA-U.$.RELATIONS--A socialist viewpoint

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Part 6: Canadian Dimension's Unanswered Letter

CANADIAN DIMENSION — "an independent journal of fact and opinion ... not affiliated with any political party or organization."

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The front and back cover of Vol. 4 No. 4 of this magazine, appropriately emblazoned with a maple leaf, is taken up entirely with "An Open Letter to Canadian Nationalists," signed by three of its editorial board: Gad Horowitz, G. W. Gonick and G. Davis Sheps.

The letter is a call for the formation of a movement for Canadian independence. Strange to say it is not addressed to French-Canadian nationalists — a very real social force in Canadian politics — quite the contrary. If it is addressed to anyone at all it seems to us that it is directed to socialists, to convince them to change course, to take off in a new direction.

"The common minimum program" . . . "acceptable to all nationalists," which the authors talk about, and upon which the movement is presumably to be based, is astonishingly vague. Perhaps this is due to the task this program is to perform — to get underway an alliance that "would cross racial, regional and class lines." At any rate not even one plank of the economic, category is presented. Only the aim is sketched in — "a battery of specific legislative measures . . . . to hold back the tide" of integration with the U.S. economy. When it comes to the other one of the two categories, the cultural one — the program calls merely for a subsidization of Canadian cultural production . . ." everything that can be published, performed, or broadcast."

Perhaps the extreme poverty of the program is because there is no real basis for such a movement'— the visualized independence movement* — in this country. It is true of course that American capitalist society bears down with enormous force on the Canadian economy and on Canadian cultural life — and that Ottawa, under the Liberals, and the Tories before that, cravenly adapts itself to the economic and political directives of the American ruling class. (*i.e., a multi-class purely 'nationalist' movement outside existing the Canadian labor-based party, the NDP -- Web Ed.)

But Canada has a developed capitalist economy and a mature and conscious capitalist class that rules this country in its interests, within the context of world reality. On the other hand the Canadian working class has developed its own organizations, both economic and politi cal, which have been formed in combat with the Canadian capitalist

class and, if only semi-consciously at this stage, are moving in the direction of taking power in their own name.

Why is it that this call that starts off so stridently, ends up so pitifully. The sad fact of the matter, one of the authors admits in a supplementary article — there is no doctrine of Canadian nationalism. "There is no unique set of Canadian values which is to be preserved from corruption by outsiders and/or imposed on them by forceful persuasion." (Horowitz) Dare we say it — there is no class, and ideology is always an instrument of class interests, there i s no class whose interests a Pan-Canadian nationalism reflects.

In reality, in so far as it is deliverable, the Canadian Dimension letter is addressed to the socialists. For it is clear that the authors, when you get down to it, see the socialists as having the task of getting this alliance underway.

Gonick makes this quite explicit in another article in the magazine. He sees a movement for Canadian independence as the only hope of making socialism once again relevant and capable of getting a hear ing in Canada. Horowitz tells social ists to put aside their ideology as it is only a "long run" solution — the rising tide of continentalism, he warns, demands a common front of all political parties and all ideological persuasion to halt it.

Underlying their appeal is their profound pessimism about the prospects of socialism, both in Canada and the United States. On the one hand Horowitz recognizes the counter revolutionary power of American capitalism, and he fears absorption of Canada by this "citadel of world capitalism." On the other he writes off the forces for socialist revolution in America. We think that this is somewhat premature, to say the least, after witnessing the gigantic social explosions coming out of the Black Ghettos that shook the major metropoles of the U.S. last month.

In this open letter that attempts to conjure up a Pan-Canadian nationalist movement not a word ap pears about the very real national ism that permeates a major part of Canada's population — the Québécois. Horowitz shows in another article in the magazine that he is not unaware of the contradictory aspects of nationalism at this stage of history. He concedes that socialism is essentially internationalist, but informs some opponents of the view expressed in the open letter that nationalism as such is not "harmful" — the nationalism of colonized people seeking self-determination," he quite correctly notes, with an un explained qualification of "nearly", is "always justifiable."

So he overlooks the revolutionary potential of black nationalism in the United States. But not nationalism in Quebec. This nationalism, which surely is that of a colonized people seeking self determination, he not only shows no sympathy for, but at tacks in the same crude way as the Tories, as threatening "to tear the country apart."

Possibly this is altogether too trite for the editors of Canadian Dimension, but the simple truth of the matter is that there can be no Canadian independence under capitalism. Canada can only be independent when the working class take the power and control the economy of this country — then it will not be nationalist but internationalist.

Mid-August, 1967 by R.D.

The Socialist Vanguard and the New Democratic Party

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The Socialist Vanguard and the New Democratic Party

Introduction

The following document was written in 1970 by Ross Dowson and entitled at the time Our Orientation to the NDP – as a strategy - and its tactical application. It both projects an orientation and at the same time outlines the history of its development and application over some three decades of experience both in the NDP, and in its precursor the CCF, by the Canadian Trotskyist movement.

At the time of writing it was the unanimously agreed upon viewpoint of the Canadian Trotskyists. It was presented in the name of the Political Committee of the League for Socialist Action/La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and adopted without dissent by its 1970 convention. It was not put to a formal vote solely for reason of the fact that, while it stood on the diverse work of the past and pulled it all together, it also contained considerable interpretation of history with which the quite youthful delegates could not be familiar.

In the next few years, with the ebb of the youth radicalization and its backlash on the LSA/LSO, which had as yet few substantial roots in the working class and which this orientation was designed to overcome, the LSA/LSO was shoved off its base and suffered a series of splits which in turn led to more splits. Thus today we are witness to a substantial growth in the number of persons who call themselves Trotskyists but at the same time a continued process of organizational fragmentation.

As testimony to its living significance, the document that follows becomes one of, if not the chief centre of contention as ultra-left pressures hit the Trotskyist movement, splintering almost the entire leadership that it had pulled together. Of all the various groups it is the Socialist League that has continued to stand on this document. We publish it not only because of its timeliness but in anticipation that it will help overcome the present fragmentation and place a united Trotskyist movement back on

the correct path, making it the decisive factor in the continuing radicalization which is now down deep into the union movement and its political expression, the NDP.

by Ross Dowson - Toronto, ON Canada - May 1976 *(Ed. Note : The date 1963 on page 17 under the subhead "Liquidationism" is in error and should read 1953, as is confirmed by the subsequent dates 1954 on page 18 and 1955 on page 20 .)*

The Socialist Vanguard and the New Democratic Party

The revolution that is coming — that will place the working women and men of this country in full command over its vast resources, that will link it to the worldwide struggles of the working class, and lay down the foundations of the new socialist order of peace and freedom — requires a party as its organizer and director.

That party must be built along the lines of a revolutionary vanguard. Not an elitist formation of self-appointed saviors, but a party of working women and men completely dedicated to the struggle of the workers, a party of leaders of the class — a combat party armed with a revolutionary program.

No other type of party will do. History has already recorded that without such a party the revolution in an advanced capitalist country such as Canada is an idle dream.

From words to deeds

But to proclaim the need for such a party — to repeat it endlessly as some do — and to actually move effectively in the direction of building such a party are two totally different things.

Those forces that have already grasped the essential outlines of this idea are confronted with a working class movement which has already taken on a structured form. These forms have a tremendous resilience because, however inadequate, they now serve the class interests — even when they no longer do so they remain a force because of the class's historic memory of when they did.

Ever since the end of World War II the most wide-spread and profound political experience of the class has been the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and its continuator, the New Democratic Party.

For some years now the Canadian workers have been organized as a class in trade unions. The war years saw the workers in basic industry unionized and today the ranks of organized labor stand over 2 million strong.

From combating individual capitalists or alliances of capitalists over immediate economic issues such as hours, wages, and conditions, the workers have been compelled to move out onto the political arena as an independent class force against the capitalists organized as a class and through their political parties in control of the state apparatus.

The CCF, from the period 1943-48 on and now the NDP from the day of its founding in 1961, is the political party of the English-Canadian working class. It is the form that the labor party has taken in English-speaking Canada.

In Quebec, the CCF-NDP has not developed strong organic links with the trade union movement or gained a mass base among working class militants. It would appear for the whole next period at least that the nationalist upsurge has passed it by.

However, even here, to this day, the CCF-NDP has been the only political structure to pose across Quebec, however embryonically, the question of independent working class political action.

The NDP is a reformist party

The NDP is a reformist party — not a revolutionary party. While in its ranks there are forces that will come to the revolution, this party will never make the revolution nor can it be reformed to serve this purpose. It is encrusted with a leadership and a program permeated with the concepts of class peace and class collaboration, although, at the critical juncture of its formation in 1961 and for a short period after, it was what Leon Trotsky described in 1938 to us Americans as "not a party but an amorphous political mass movement" with a revolutionary dynamic. It is nationalist, identifying the fate of the Canadian working class with the fate of the central bourgeois state — and not internationalist. Its leadership has made parliamentarianism not a tactic in the struggle but the supreme principle through which change alone can come.

This party has been characterized at various times as the primary expression of the politics of the working class, as expressing the present level of consciousness of the workers, or as being in advance of the level of consciousness of the working class as a whole.

In this period of extreme national and international crises, when class antagonisms recurringly take on the most explosive character — how can one estimate with any degree of accuracy, even over a very limited period of time, where the working class is at, at what stage is its consciousness, and how firm is its adherence to various structures and to various forms of struggle.

To be sure, there are hundreds of thousands of working class men and women who do not think in terms of politics at all or continue to support one or another party of the capitalist class. They have yet to take the simplest act of a working class political character by voting NDP. There are tens of thousands of workers who have over the past years formed a firm commitment to the NDP and its leadership and will not be easily shaken from it, and to be sure there are many workers both inside and outside of the NDP who are to the left of it, who have already some understanding of the inadequacy of its program and an even clearer idea of the opportunist and class collaborationist character of its leadership. But insofar as the revolutionary socialists have been able to confront them, there are few in number who are yet prepared to move out and beyond the NDP.

Thus the NDP represents both an opening to and a barrier against; stands both on the way and athwart the way to the building of the revolutionary vanguard. For the class as a whole over the entire past period it represents a progressive and important step forward in their political development and it will continue to do so for some period.

Touchstone of class politics

The NDP cannot be ignored and it cannot be bypassed. It is the touchstone of class politics. All working class politics revolve around it and an incorrect position on it is fatal. It is not yet its association and support for the criminal record of the Soviet bureaucracy that is the albatross around the neck of the Communist Party of Canada so much as its known record of opposition to the CCF and the NDP, to independent working class political action. The CP's opposition to the NDP has not remained in their class collaborationist theories expressed in convention but has been exposed to workers by its consistent running of blocks of candidates against the NDP and in particular against the most left candidates.

The position of the Canadian Trotskyists vis-à-vis the CCF from the time that it could be said to

have become the Canadian labor party is expressed organizationally in the formation of the Revolutionary Workers Party in 1946 — an attempt to pull the necessary cadre together for a future entry; the dissolution of its public face and the entry of our forces as a disciplined democratic centralist revolutionary socialist formation into the CCF in 1952; the formation of the Toronto Socialist Educational League in 1955 (and later the Vancouver Socialist Information Centre) at a time when the CCF was static and there were new possibilities of cadre building through regroupment of diverse socialist forces; and the formation of the League for Socialist Action in 1961 to intervene in the birth processes of the New Democratic Party.

The orientation to the CCF-NDP has been the fundamental orientation of Canadian Trotskyism since World War II. In general our position in relation to the CCF-NDP labor party formation has been one of unconditional support and, but for the period of entry from 1952 to 1956, intensive fraction work with a non-split perspective.

We say unconditional in the sense that our defense of the USSR is unconditioned — that we lay down no terms or conditions to the Soviet regime to warrant our defense of the USSR itself. We defend the USSR as a workers state — should a series of transformations take place as to qualitatively alter its class character we would cease to defend it. But suppose the NDP violates some of the most basic interests of the working class. The Labour Party of Great Britain through Wilson completely underwrote the U.S. genocidal war against the people of Vietnam and imposed a wage freeze on the British unions. This caused some to reject electoral support of the Labour Party and even to cease to characterize it as the labor Party — the mass political expression of the British working Class — but to define it as a bourgeois party.

It is not at all excluded that the NDP could move to such positions. We would not support such positions. But at what point would we say that we no longer support the party — at what point is it no longer the labor party? Only when it ceases to represent in the eyes of the class the alternative to the parties of the bourgeoisie. In our opinion the betrayals of the British Labor Party leadership have not had such an impact as to result in a qualitative change in the party's relation to the class.

On another occasion we commented this way: the NDP not only betrays the basic principles of socialism, which it does not even claim to ascribe to, but even from time to time the most elementary interests of the workers. But it has not betrayed the level of consciousness of any substantial and viable layer of the working class.

Opposition to orientation

Our CCF-NDP orientation and its effective application has been the hardest fought position in the history of the movement, established against trends of centrist conciliationism and liquidationism into the NDP, sectarian opposition to, and in more recent years, spontaneist and adventurist hostility to it, leading to defection from the
revolutionary vanguard itself.

This rejection of the labor party flows from the same basic illusion touched on by The New Rise of the World Revolution adopted by the Third World Congress since
Reunification. It explained: "The sudden development of the new youth vanguard into a mass movement has caused the resurgence of the worship of spontaneity. This is another new obstacle to a breakthrough by revolutionary Marxists." Earlier the document referred to an incorrect interpretation of

united action as follows: "The success of such actions is indispensable to victory in specific episodes in the class struggle. But our historic task is not just to achieve episodic victories; it is to lead the working class to victory by overthrowing the international capitalist system and capitalism in each individual country. If we limited ourselves solely to united actions, we would run the risk of a general defeat in the wake of episodic and ephemeral successes. This would more and more sap the potential for further successes, because what is most necessary to achieve such successes is a correct theoretical and practical grasp of reality, which is unattainable without the incomparable instrument of a revolutionary party.

"Such conceptions," the document continues, "are based implicitly or explicitly on the illusion that thousands of students or young workers fighting shoulder to shoulder against the Vietnam war, for a 'confrontation' with the bourgeois university or even capitalist society as a whole, have already reached the same ideological level as the revolutionary Marxists and that therefore a revolutionary Marxist party and International are no longer necessary."

This spontaneist tendency arising with the worldwide youth radicalization has rejected the NDP out of the same logic. Because the youth radicalization has as yet developed apart from the NDP, because its massive united actions do not look to the NDP for leadership, they conclude that the NDP has been definitely bypassed, not merely by the thousands of students and young worker participants in mass demonstrations, but by the class as a whole.

This tendency which *(Al)* Engler and *(Brian)* Slocock gave expression to in our movement, saw our fundamental orientation, the identification of the LSA/LSO with the NDP, as a barrier to our effective identification with and full involvement in the new wave of radically developing youth. They saw our identification with the NDP as giving us a conservative image and as an impediment that had to be got rid of, while we see it as increasing our political effectiveness. We see such slogans as "Win the NDP to Socialism," through which we express our NDP orientation, as giving depth and direction to the radicalization, as a means to direct the youth militants to a comprehension of what class it must link its struggle to — the working class — in order to render it more effective, as a means to raise and educate youth militants in class politics. Our spontaneists saw the struggle continuing to move outside of the NDP, and the revolutionary wave completely bypassing the NDP.

Interestingly enough, this view did not find them more vigorously proclaiming the "pure" Trotskyist program and seeking on every occasion to more dramatically present the independent banner of the LSA/LSO or the Fourth International, but on the contrary adapting to spontaneist elements, taking a completely opportunist course, and rejecting the revolutionary vanguard party first in the concrete, insofar as it existed in the LSA/LSO, and then in theory.

Slocock cautioned us about not imposing an artificial and abstract mass perspective on the spontaneous development of the majority of antiwar militants, and advised us that our attitudes to such new formations as tenant organizations, COPE (Vancouver electoral popular front) should not be determined by our NDP orientation, but each case must be decided on its own merits (page B, Bulletin 1). It was just two years ago, with great erudition and endless analogies, he predicted that the radicalization of the working class will not be reflected into the NDP through the constituency organizations, but through the trade union movement. Work in the constituencies and through artificially erected "Socialist caucuses" is of little value, he declared.

Needless to say the new radicalization has by no means bypassed the NDP but has been

reflected within it, not only In constituency organizations and union locals but In the federal convention and even the parliamentary caucus.

While the NDP leadership has taken no real initiatives to involve the party in the anti-Vietnam war movement and for a whole period savagely attacked those who did, its top leaders now grace the platforms of the mass rallies, head the demonstrations, and through their actions identify the NDP with them, and carry the NDP into the antiwar movement. While the Canadian Party of Labor (Maoists) came to the VMC-sponsored march on Ottawa this spring all geared to boo and heckle the major speaker, the notorious right-wing NDP leader David Lewis — they had to keep their silence. Lewis forthrightly attacked U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese revolution as imperialist, condemned the Canadian government for its abject material and political complicity and demanded the cessation of arms sales and the withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam now.

What about women's liberation—the most ongoing struggle involving new layers of radicals with the most explosive potential? When the abortion caravan hit Ottawa it found immediate support from the NDP parliamentary caucus. MP Grace Mclnnis firmly identified the NDP with the caravan by addressing the rally that welcomed its arrival. Liberationists chained themselves to the parliamentary gallery and so interrupted the session with their demands for immediate action that the government was forced to adjourn this sacred institution of bourgeois democracy. Some of the party leaders dissociated themselves from this action but others appeared amongst the Liberationists in a gesture of support. The *(Dr. Henry)* Morgentaler case around which the fight for "Free Abortions Now" is developing has firm support from the NDP.

The NDP leadership have proven sufficiently flexible in meeting the challenge of the new wave of radicalization to preserve the image of the party as a party of the left.

It is difficult to prove the effect of much of our work at any given moment and sometimes for a whole period on the course of events. Often, when it would seem that it had little or none whatsoever, later developments prove quite the opposite. For an extended period, we concentrated considerable effort in the NDP across Canada, in B.C., Alberta, Ontario, etc., to build socialist caucuses. Slocock characterized them as being "artificially erected" and "of little political value." But scarcely were the words written than there appeared in the NDP right across the country the so-called Waffle — a broad left-wing formation composed largely of radical anti-imperialist youth with 1/3 of the votes at last year's federal convention and which has since become a stable left-wing force across the country.

Revolution by the class

Spontaneists and confrontationists see the NDP as taking steam out of and tending to divert the militancy of the struggle into parliamentary and reformist channels. But isn`t this really just another expression of their lack of understanding of or unwillingness to face up to the fundamental problems of making the revolution? The revolution cannot come out of the confrontation-escalation politics of the Spontaneists no matter how dramatically or how brilliantly their actions are planned. The youth radicalism has to link up with the working class with their vast numbers strategically enmeshed in the working gears of society. In the United States it is difficult for student radicals to see the working class as a class, let alone as a potentially radical force - hence there has been considerable dissipation of their forces in ultra-leftist adventurism.

In the United States where there is no labor party this by no means indicates a lack of reformist illusions - quite the contrary. They are not on the plane of whether socialism can be won by parliamentary means, but on a much lower plane — whether one or another capitalist party can be an instrument for social change. By that token alone, they tend to be parliamentarist. Whereas the NDP is a minority, often hamstrung by electoral trickery and parliamentary procedures, actions identifying with it often take on an antiparliamentary character and pose revolutionary challenges.

In Canada the revolutionary potential of the working class is much easier to grasp. Not only are the workers organized in unions but their unions are much more socially oriented; they are heavily involved in the NDP with its broad social outlook. In fact, the unions are the dominant force in the NDP. The NDP constantly poses the need for working class power. Since it is a minority party and must continually seek to widen its support, it is necessary for it to move out in protest demonstrations and rallies to continually sharpen the discontent of the workers and organize them along political, even if reformist, lines.

And history records more than one occasion when the struggle has transcended from one for reforms to revolution.

Cannot be by-passed

Insofar as we Trotskyists recognize the NDP as a progressive step forward for the working class, in that sense, indirectly, it can be said we help to establish it. But the fact is that the NDP is there, is a tremendous reality and it plays that role completely outside of our support and even our existence. And revolutionists who do not have an orientation to it cannot get anywhere.

This has been clearly brought home recently by the demise of the Saskatchewan-based Committee for a Socialist Movement — a broad catchall organization at its peak of some 200 revolutionaries outside the NDP. In the short year and a half of its existence it has known nothing but crises over its direction. What blew it up were differences that developed around its orientation to the New Democratic Party and its left-wing Waffle caucus. The first split was when some 20 key leaders, largely in Regina, pulled out to work exclusively in the NDP and Waffle. The next split was the leadership of the Saskatoon Group, who opposed attacks on the Waffle appearing in the CSM paper. They viewed the NDP as a labor party and were for working within it for a socialist program — although they consider it necessary to go beyond the NDP and Waffle. They have joined the Young Socialists. What remained split again, the first group, named by its advisor and our erstwhile comrades *(Al)* Engler and *(Jean)* Rands "The Middle Way," seeks a way outside the NDP and the policy outlined by Trotskyists. The second talks of armed struggle and rejects the NDP on completely sectarian grounds. Both are by now quite probably scattered to the winds.

In no way does our orientation to the NDP distort or inhibit the full responsible functioning of the LSA/LSO as the nucleus of the revolutionary vanguard. Not only does it link it up to the most significant expression of the class conscious development of the Canadian working class, permitting it to go through the experiences of the class with the class, testing our ideas, allowing us to take every advantage of every developing possibility but it makes our movement and our aim, the Canadian socialist revolution, take on a much more comprehensible character.

Our orientation to the NDP has nothing but good results for us. We described it this way in our

1963 convention resolution:

"The LSA's orientation to the NDP makes it much more attractive a force than it would otherwise be. Our orientation places our whole program in a realistic framework. Regardless of all its shortcomings, in its overall significance the NDP projects the need for working-class power. The fairly extensive layer of workers who in advance of their class, have already a generally correct assessment of reformism, find a small revolutionary socialist group unattractive — even though they may concede that it is theoretically correct — for it can offer little immediate possibilities of struggle. Their understanding therefore becomes largely passive, without perspective. Our orientation to the NDP, our projection as a socialist caucus, with the aim of winning the NDP to a socialist policy makes us much more attractive and more capable of winning such forces to our side. The merits of our orientation from this viewpoint, which stand completely outside of what forces we may or may not actually have in the NDP at any given moment, must not be overlooked. Our NDP orientation places our forces, small and involved as they are in what is largely education work of an even academic character, in their proper perspective. It projects in broad lines the direction and possibilities of the struggle in the whole next period, thus heightening immensely our attractivity."

That orientation to the CCF-NDP which has been our strategical line since the end of World War II, has been mistakenly characterized by some as entrism. In reality, while within the framework of the orientation the Canadian Trotskyists have implemented a wide range of tactics, only on two occasions has the Canadian movement carried out entry.

What is the entry tactic? Entrism, in general, means the revolutionary vanguard dissolving itself as an open independent organization under its own banner into another non-Trotskyist organization for a period. While it is normal that Trotskyists should have their own open movement propagating their full program, under certain circumstances (in order of course to add forces to the revolutionary vanguard) it is a justifiable tactic to take down the independent banner to permit a full entry into another organization.

In Canada a group that had earlier split away from our movement to form the League for a Revolutionary Workers Party, associated with a U. S. group around a B. J. Field, added this to their bag of differences with our movement claiming that, contrary to us, the public independent party had to be sustained at all times and under all circumstances as a matter of principle.

There are of course many dangers facing Trotskyists who have entered another centrist or reformist movement. The internal cohesion of Trotskyists who enter, must, if anything, be even greater than it is as an independent public force. In essence Trotskyists become a hardened cadre caucus fighting to win new recruits to the full program of Trotskyism in order later to reestablish themselves as the independent public vanguard organization.

Our first experience in applying this tactic was the entry into the CCF during 1936 which was sharply and decisively ended in 1938. It was of the classic type devised by Leon Trotsky, sometimes called the French turn, and most successfully applied by the U. S. Trotskyists. In the mid-thirties a leftward-moving current developed in the Socialist Party of the U. S. The American Trotskyists dissolved their public face, gave up their own public press (soon to be replaced by another press), fused with the main forces in this current and then after a sharp struggle reconstituted their independent movement on a considerably expanded basis, at the same time dealing a political opponent a blow from

which it never recovered.

The other entry was carried out by the Canadian Trotskyists over a period of three and a half years commencing in 1952 at approximately the same time as the International Executive Committee of the FI headed by Michel Pablo projected a concept of entry *sui generis* (“of a unique type”) on an international scale and of an extended duration. This entrism, which was practiced by almost all the European sections of the movement either into Stalinist or social democratic labor parties, was only terminated after almost two decades by the new wave of radicalism that broke over the movement in the late sixties and was the subject of a resolution prepared by the majority of the United Secretariat that appeared in International Bulletin No. 7. May 1969.

The second entry conducted by the Canadian Trotskyists had little or nothing in common with entry *sui generis*, certainly as Pablo, through his Canadian supporters, came to interpret it. The Canadian entry was terminated after a relatively short span of three and a half years after an incisive split carried out by a minority. Commencing the entry apparently in agreement with the majority as to its nature, this minority came to give a totally different interpretation of it which they claimed was Pablo's. Pablo subsequently recognized them as the Canadian section prior to their complete liquidation into the reformist milieu and disappearance from the political scene.

The second entry was ended with the expulsion of the main Trotskyist forces in the East from the CCF, the formation of the Socialist Educational League and the publication of *Workers Vanguard*. Ever since then, the Canadian Trotskyists have maintained an open Trotskyist organization with public organs — today four — and have carried a wide range of independent activities — all within the framework of our CCF-NDP orientation — unconditional support of the NDP with an extensive fraction within it.

In the resolution dealing with our work in the NDP which was adopted by our 1966 convention, we described the implementation of our orientation as follows: "It means that the NDP remains the focus of all our politics — but not the center of our activities" — that center was the new wave of youth radicalization.

The United Front

How to establish the hegemony of the revolutionary socialists over the left? An initial tactic devised to achieve this was the united front. Lenin devised this tactic following the failure of the Communist International to win important sectors of the workers within social democracy to the banner of the Communist parties. The united front was designed to effect unity in action of Communist Party and Social Democratic Party workers on issues of common concern. The parties would march together while retaining their separate identity. Through such a device the greatest possible striking power would be brought into play against a common enemy. At the same time it was anticipated that the Communist Parties would effectively demonstrate the superiority of their ideas and their party, win the best workers from the social democracy, and thus establish their hegemony over the entire left. The tactic of the united front remains one of the most precious tools in the arsenal of revolutionary politics

The tactic of entry was first carried out by our French comrades in 1934. It was predicated on the fact that our own forces were weak and isolated, and that an important and viable left wing in the social democracy was developing in our direction. They joined the social democratic party as a body, in order to work within it as a fraction to come in contact with its left wing, to influence it, and to fuse

with it, and thereby broaden the basis for the subsequent construction of a new revolutionary party — a Trotskyist party — in France.

Concept of entry

The first entry carried out by the Canadian Trotskyists was in 1937 into the CCF which we characterized even as late as 1946 as "predominantly an agrarian social-democratic party with its primary base in the prairie radicalism of the western farmers ... its membership in the major industrial cities of the East primarily middle class with a small sprinkling of highly skilled workers. The forces of Canadian Trotskyism were limited almost entirely to Vancouver and Toronto. The Vancouver comrades had earlier proposed entry into the BC section of the CCF to the executive committee. The matter was now discussed through the movement and they took that action independently. Then in the summer of 1937 the executive committee majority submitted a one-line resolution to the party — resolve that the executive committee endorse immediate entry into the CCF. A minority replies that the CCF was stagnant and declining and that there was no left wing that could be won to our ideas. After a long and extremely bitter conflict, the organization convention, by a very small majority, voted to enter the CCF. No sooner had the motion been carried than almost the entire top leadership headed by Jack Macdonald, apparently exhausted by the years of isolation and grueling struggle, stood aside. Maurice Spector, the other leading figure in the movement, had already led Canada to work in the U. S. party where he lined up with A.J. Muste against entry into the Socialist Party. The entry was thrown into the laps of young and quite inexperienced comrades and its conduct was further complicated by the failure of much of the minority (who were actually a majority of the movement's activists) to participate. just these circumstances alone guaranteed that entry would threaten the movement with liquidation.

Not only did this entry prove fruitless in so far as bringing new blood into our movement, but the conditions and atmosphere in the CCF infected our own forces. Many comrades became demoralized and dropped away, some even became completely acclimatized to the reformist milieu.

It was not until late in 1938 that the remnants of the entrists and non-entrists with the aid of the International, became reconciled and the entry was terminated. Our weakened forces reconstituted themselves as the Socialist Workers League, but before they could consolidate and renew their national connections the Second World War broke out and the movement was driven underground. The Canadian movement, unlike our co-thinkers in Britain and the U. S. who were able to function openly with only modest adjustments, was driven underground by sweeping repressive legislation.

In November, 1944 a Canada-wide conference was held in Montreal that pulled together our forces and prepared the organization of the Revolutionary Workers Party two years later. Even as we reconstituted this nucleus of the vanguard as a public independent party, we did not by any means reject the possibility of being faced again with the necessity of re-entering the CCF in our struggle to build the mass revolutionary party. On the day of its formal organization the RWP took a CCF orientation - fraction work in the CCF but with major emphasis on building the independent party. Without this necessary preliminary pulling together of cadres, a subsequent entry into the CCF was inconceivable.

In 1943 the delegates to the convention of the Canadian Congress of Labor, formed in 1940 through unification of the All Canadian Congress of Labor and the Canadian section of the CIO, voted to endorse the CCF as the political arm of organized labor. By 1948 it became obvious that the CCF had not only taken on important strength but had sunk real roots in the working class areas in all the

major metropolitan centers and had become — in effect — the labor party.

With that the movement made CCF fraction work a more serious part of party work and raised the question of the advisability of carrying out an entry into the CCF. Commencing in 1948, the leadership began to prepare the movement for possible entry. Thus we come to the second entry carried out by the Canadian Trotskyists. At that time the IEC headed by Pablo was projecting entry *sui generis* in the major sectors of the globe.

How did the Canadian Trotskyists see their entry? Unlike many other periods in the history of the Canadian movement, this one is fairly well documented. The major document unanimously adopted by the 1951 convention is entitled "The CCF — Our Tasks and Perspectives" and that is exactly what it is: a detailed analysis of the CCF, and the challenge it poses for the Trotskyists in their struggle to build the revolutionary vanguard.

This document differentiates the entry that it projected from the type of entry known as the "French turn." Its premise was "not the existence of left formations — nor an increase in internal democracy in the party or a wave of growth." Its premise was that the CCF has now all the skeletal forms of the labor party, and that while we have gathered some precious cadre — we are small. We projected that in this period of extreme national and international tension, of McCarthyism and the cold war that "the CCF under the next upsurge," we projected, "will embrace the class. The class will go there and nowhere else; there it will undergo the experience of reformism - and there, given the perspective of world and Canadian capitalism will move forward to the revolutionary solution of its problems." And we said: "The struggle for a program that will express the opposition of the masses to the oppressive burden of the war and the encroachment of the Bonapartist state will thrust up a new leadership that will do battle with the Coldwell-Douglas-Millard leadership. The program, we stated very clearly, "will be the transitional program of the Fourth International; the leadership," we underscored, "will be the Trotskyist leadership of the Canadian revolution." That is, the only alternative to the reformist leadership was Trotskyism.

This discussion brought to a close, at least on the surface, a longstanding, wearing struggle that had developed in the Toronto branch with an unprincipled personal clique formation headed by Joe Rose. This clique had only in June 1951 finally put its political views down on paper — they then denied that the CCF was the mass political party of labor and formally counterposed the concept that the genuine left would only develop through the trade unions. At the convention they suddenly switched, voted for the entry, and Rose was put on the Central and Political Committees.

By March 1952 our B.C. forces publicly announced their entry without prior consultation with the P.C. In the East as we began to implement the entry, the Rose clique began to develop widening differences. Veering wildly from their previous sectarian evaluation of the CCF they moved, not to the majority position of long-term entry, but toward liquidation into the CCF milieu. They became super-security-conscious, refusing to support the application for membership of a comrade in a CCF club in which they held membership. Finally, using as an excuse the readmission of a former member in the movement, who they claimed was a security problem and whose case went before the Control Commission where it was cleared, they walked out apparently in order to protect their own security in the CCF.

The Rose group, and those who later joined it, postulating the need to remain in the CCF "at all

costs," were unable to undertake any serious left-wing initiatives, fearing that challenges to the party's right-wing establishment might provoke disciplinary reprisals. The majority, on the contrary, moved out in aggressive actions to build the CCF left and expand the Trotskyist forces. While it was felt necessary to drop our public press, we made a big effort to stimulate the BC leftists to launch with us a journal for the broad left, we were instrumental in the publication of a rash of constituency bulletins popularizing transitional demands, and our American co-thinkers allocated space in their press which we ommenced to promote. We developed bookstores that carried all the publications of the Trotskyist movement, we held public forums in Toronto which utilized our comrades who had been refused membership in the CCF — and we ran candidates for public office. We made every effort to carry on with the key work of recruiting and developing Trotskyist cadre.

Liquidationism

Rapidly the dispute which resulted in the split of world Trotskyism into two tendencies grouped around the International Secretariat and the International Committee which was healed only in 1963, broke over our heads. The Canadian leadership was totally unacquainted with these developments until it read Comrade Cannon's "Open Letter to Trotskyists" published in *The Militant*. It was an appeal to the worldwide movement to unite in a struggle against Pablo's revisionism. The Vancouver comrades immediately identified themselves with the "Open Letter." The leadership in Toronto equivocated in the belief that the issues at dispute could be discussed and decided upon at the next world congress.

It was then that a minority in the leadership and in the Toronto branch headed by Fitzgerald and McAlpine commenced to give a new interpretation to our entry — one that had never figured in any of the discussions and documentation that had decided the entry. Their arguments developed the need for entry along the following lines: 1) that the Third World War was thundering down on us, 2) that we would enter into this war with the present alignment of forces on the left — the Communist party, Social Democratic and labor parties - substantially as they are now, 3) that the Trotskyist forces woefully small must at all costs enter as rapidly as possible the Communist Party or Social Democratic/labor party, whichever was the effective movement of the working class in their respective countries, 4) that we could be confident that out of the impact of the world holocaust on these parties the revolutionary instrument would be forged, with our forces playing a contributory role.

Entry *sui generis* *("of a unique type")*

To question these broad and sweeping generalizations, to suggest that the timetable might be inaccurate, that events could take place that might drastically alter paths that the traditional parties of labor might well go through, some crises that would open up new roads for Trotskyism, was dismissed or ridiculed as holding on to old concepts as not facing up to the new reality. We were even violating the position of the Third World Congress, we were told, which we had voted for without any criticism but which we were only now informed had such concepts unknown to us and not brought out to our attention at the time but firmly imbedded in them.

Suddenly on Jan. 25/54, to the embarrassment of the minority, the Rose clique bounced back into the arena with a Committee for a Socialist Regroupment. They appeared as 100% opponents of the Cannonite majority 100% supporters of Pablo and called for a split in Canadian section. The minority and Pablo himself in a letter to the leadership dissociated themselves from the split.

But among the resolutions and documents of the 14th plenum held by the IS headed by Pablo was one decreeing the suspension from membership in the International all members of the IEC who support the "Open Letter" who approve it and who are trying to rally on this basis the sections of the International. It ordered the suspension from their posts of leadership in the sections all those who signed these appeals or approved them.

This ukase handed to the leadership of the Canadian Trotskyist movement to enforce was immediately operative against Ross Dowson, a member of the IEC, executive secretary and member of the CC-PC, and against Reg Bullock of the CC. Dowson had come to identify himself with the "Open Letter." If taken seriously as intended it would have decapitated the movement at one blow - placing the minority in control. The minority abstained, but not before stating their complete agreement with it and expressing regret that due to the nature of our party, because of its political level, this instruction was inoperative.

While it was clear where the Canadian Trotskyists stood, preparations were made for a convention. Suddenly on April 7, the Rose clique, along with a few other drop-outs, applied for restoration of their membership in the section. The Toronto branch voted to table the matter until after the convention called for April 10 and 11. The minority, demanding immediate acceptance, stormed out of the meeting. A day or so later a letter dated April 8 appeared entitled "The Canadian Section of the Fourth International to Carry On." It was signed by Fitzgerald, McAlpine and Grenier and announced an emergency conference for April 11 "to continue the Canadian party with all those who support the International" and to "name a temporary executive committee and a delegate to the 4th World Congress."

This rump "Conference of the Canadian Section" publicized the fusion of the Fitzgerald-McAlpine splitters with the Rose clique. Their interim NC among other strange flowers numbered in its circle one Comrade Houston, whose readmission into the section had earlier served as the pretext for the Rose clique desertion from the movement.

Fitzgerald attended the "Fourth World Congress" as the recognized delegate of "the Canadian section of the Fourth International." Before completely disappearing from the scene this assortment of splitters and deserters gave a further lesson in their interpretation of entry *sui generis.*

Suddenly almost every Trotskyist who had managed to enter the Ontario CCF found himself charged by the CCF brass with being a member of an opponent political party. As it turned out, having once started out on a liquidationist course, the rump section's alternate NC member Houston carried it further by turning informer to the CCF brass. A little later, full NC member Rose carried their entry to its ultimate. When appearing before the investigators Rose went state's evidence for a promise that his membership might later win favorable consideration.

Was the liquidationist course to be explained away as the aberrations of disoriented individuals? When the Rose clique's call for split characterized the schism in the world movement as being between those who "are still applying the formulas of the thirties which because of the new world realities have become empty clichés" when it said: "In the words of the IS 'let the dead bury its own,' only the living can make an effective contribution to the victory of Canadian socialism," and its previous position of carrying out the entry "at all costs," it was only echoing Fitzgerald and McAlpine's words about facing

the new world realities, about grasping the new Trotskyism. But what role did Trotskyists have to play at all in Pablo's war-revolution concept which was automatic and irreversible?

For its major forces which were concentrated in the East the second Canadian entry was terminated by the expulsion of almost its entire entered forces in the CCF. The Socialist Educational League was launched publicly in December, 1955 with new elements who had been won in the course of the anti-expulsion fight who constituted an effective fraction in the CCF with a no-split perspective.

However, it is apparent that regardless of the expulsions, the forces of Canadian Trotskyism, in order to meet the challenge of events that were already developing, would have ended the entry in the next year or two This is clear from the character of their activities over the next five years, the struggle along with the Vancouver comrades against a liquidationist current that developed in their branch, and the formation there of the Socialist Forum in February 1959, later the Socialist Information Center, and finally its fusion with the Toronto-based SEL under a common name — the League for Socialist Action.

In its evaluation of the entry *sui generis* held over from the Third World Congress Since Reunification in the International Information Bulletin May 1969, the United Secretariat referred to the "conjunctural factors" that were particularly cited in the debates at the time it was first projected in the early fifties, and to "the structural factors" that were emphasized when the tactic was being applied.

The resolution states: "(7) The citing of conjunctural factors proved some time later to have been in error, the economic perspective turning out to be completely the reverse and giving to a prolonged favourable cycle, the danger of war postponed. On the other hand the crisis of Stalinism developed considerably faster than had been visualized." Nonetheless this entry as practiced by several sections ended only as the impact of a turn marked as being around 1966 (as the new wave of youth radicalism broke over them) led them to alter their tactics in this field. According to Comrade Pierre Frank in his report on entrism "this tactic was and proved itself to be the one possible for a whole period."

Even today, 19 years after, the 1951 convention document's broad projection for the CCF-NDP entry remains accurate. The workers as a class are going through an NDP experience — it is only taking longer than we expected. For Bolsheviks that time is precious time indeed as it gives us new opportunities to accumulate and develop cadre which is absolutely essential if we are to take advantage of the favorable turn of events to make a revolution.

And already by December 1955, when they had been expelled from the CCF and had set up the independent Socialist Educational League with its press the *Workers Vanguard*, the Canadian Trotskyists were feeling the pressure, the need to free themselves from the restraint that long-term entry tended to impose.

Two months after the public appearance of the SEL came the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its revelations of the crimes of Stalin, followed shortly by the uprising in Poznan *(the Polish workers' anti-Stalinist Solidarnosc movement—ed.)* and then the Hungarian revolution. The Communist parties throughout the world underwent a profound crisis. In Canada the entire Quebec leadership split away, followed shortly by the defection of nearly all its public figures save Tim Buck. How could the Trotskyists, entered in the CCF, meet this challenge?

Within the orientation

The CCF leadership began to shuck off every last remnant of socialism symbolized by the "Regina Manifesto" as they cleared the way for the launching of the NDP with the newly united CLC. The dumping of the "Manifesto" set off centrifugal forces throughout the CCF. Prominent BC left-winger Rod Young announced the formation of a new socialist party. How could entered Trotskyists block this dissipation of forces? Regroupment becomes a matter of great interest in socialist circles' — how could Trotskyists, entered in a movement from which many of these forces were decamping, participate? Not only did the war not come, but a powerful antiwar movement commenced to develop, particularly among student youth, the first expression of the student radicalization that was to gather momentum through the '60s. The Cuban masses under Fidel and Che took power and offered a new pole of attraction on the left.

Obviously entry was becoming increasingly insufferable. The SEL moved out, within the framework of its CCF orientation, but quite prepared to risk the security of its CCF fraction, for it needed every force at its disposal. We moved right in on the CP, circulating literature discussing and challenging their line. In front of a mass membership meeting we forced CP leader Tim Buck himself to agree to a public debate (which of course never came off). We initiated a series of regroupment forums with the ex CPers in Montreal. We launched an independent Toronto Socialist Youth Forum. As the CCF was being played down prior to the launching of the NDP we entered a candidate in a Toronto federal riding in 1958 where a token CCF candidate was in the running. When the CCF made a no-contest deal we went into the Hastings-Frontenac by-election to challenge the Minister of External Affairs for his seat. We consolidated youth contacts gained in the antiwar and labor party youth movements by launching in 1960 an open and independent Trotskyist youth organization, the Young Socialists. We moved out to popularize the Cuban cause and launched the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

These initiatives were not taken without meeting some resistance within our own forces. In the Vancouver branch an opposition clique developed around Bill Whitney. Only for a short period had the Vancouver comrades had the opportunity and the responsibility of defending the full program of Trotskyism particularly in its highest form of expression, the building of a vanguard, in contest with all other political tendencies. They had been deprived over an extended period of time of that condition that is normal and healthy for the full development of revolutionary socialists. Like the prisoners in the cages of Vietnam's Thieu they had been long cramped up and some such as Whitney lost the use of vital faculties. To this day Whitney is an able articulator of many of the basic theoretical concepts of Trotskyism but he is hopelessly crippled with liquidationism.

After many long and tortuous discussions where agreement was made to terminate the BC entry, which never seemed to get implemented, Whitney became isolated, the branch moved out and he broke. In February 1959, the Vancouver Socialist Forum was launched through Malcolm Bruce and Fred McNeil, former top leaders of the CP who had come to our side.

Cadre gathering

It was in this period that we gathered the key cadre for the next big opportunity that the CCF, to become the New Democratic Party, faced us with. The situation was without precedent. The Canadian Trotskyists were confronted with the challenge of being in on the birth of a new mass labor party

formation. The next turn proved that through the hectic and trying struggles of the previous decades we had laid true and sound foundations under ourselves, that we had developed valuable cadre.

No revolutionary opportunity, no matter how profound, produces its own cadre. At best it only provides the culture where its elements can begin to flourish and coalesce as cadre for the next upsurge; or the opportunity for cadre that has already been formed in a previous struggle to intervene and transform itself and move forward to victory. We proved in the crucial period of 1957-63 that we had gathered together invaluable forces, that we had assimilated the program of the revolution, and that we had learned how to implement it—its politics. But we had not had time to accumulate sufficient cadre. It is this that is the ongoing and supreme challenge before the Canadian and world Trotskyist movement.

In 1955 with the merger of the Trades and Labor Congress – American Federation of Labor to the Canadian Congress of Labor – Congress of Industrial Organizations which had endorsed the CCF as labor's political arm since 1943, new opportunities opened up to widen the bases of support for independent labor political action. The CCF brass saw it as a chance to broaden they apparatus and to rid themselves of a broad left wing concentrated largely in the Prairie provinces and B. C. This left-reformist to centrist wing had crystallized in opposition to the rightward course of the CCF top brass largely around the party's founding programmatic statement known as the "Regina Manifesto." This statement, essentially Christian pacifist, nonetheless committed the movement to public ownership of the basic means of production and to irreconcilable opposition against "Wars designed to make the world safe for capitalism."

While the "Manifesto" had long ceased to have any relationship at all to the completely opportunist positions to which the parliamentary caucus consistently committed the party, the CCF leadership formally decided to get rid of it. As the Ontario leadership expressed it in their provincial council minutes "the CCF should endeavor to make its appeal more pragmatic, more empirical," and should publish some new basic literature "which would restate the application of democratic socialism in today's world and in today's terms." That turned out to be the "Winnipeg Declaration of Principles"which dumped public ownership for public control, and replaced abolition of private profit and corporate power with the concept of social planning. This statement was jammed through the 1956 CCF Convention in Winnipeg.

The dumping of the "Regina Manifesto"was of course also highly agreeable to the trade union brass. The *United Autoworker* applauded the new look: "Many in organized labor will welcome the "Winnipeg Declaration". . . with the tag 'Socialism-Will-Cure-Everything' off its back the CCF should be ... much more acceptable to union voters."

Early in 1957 the CCF leadership, through a series of formal and informal secret discussions with the CLC brass, laid the basis for a Joint Political Action Committee, subsequently set up by the CLC 1958 convention and renamed the National Committee for the New Party. It projected a series of seminars, conferences and forums throughout the country at which CCF'ers, unionists, farmers` organizations, "professional people and other liberally minded persons" could prepare for the launching of a new party to be founded in July-August 1961.

These developments had a shattering effect on the old CCF left, which we had concluded after many experiences was exhausted as a viable force. Many of them walked away, others talked in terms of splits, on the West Coast of tearing the BC CCF out of the federal movement, or of setting up a new socialist party.

We Trotskyists, however, saw a tremendous new opportunity opening up for us and decided to throw every ounce of energy into the debates, seminars and discussions, into every process leading to the formation of the new party, the new labor party striving to assure its being launched as a revolutionary party.

Of course, we knew that it could not be a vanguard party. But we decided to do everything possible to project our ideas into the situation, to give it a revolutionary program, to permeate it with the spirit of our transitional program.

We saw the situation confronting us as similar to that speculated upon by Trotsky around the possible developments of a labor party on this continent back in 1932.

"It is evident that the possibility of participating in and of utilizing a 'labor party' movement would be greater in the period of its inception; that is, in the period when the party is not a party but an amorphous political mass movement. That we must participate in it at that time and with the greatest energy is without question, but not to help form a 'labor party' which will exclude us and fight against us but to push the progressive elements of the movement more and more to the left by our activity and propaganda. I know this seems too simple for the new great school which searches in every way for a method to jump over its feeble head."

At that juncture the Communist Party was staggering from crisis to crisis— set off by the 20th Congress revelations of the crimes of Stalin. The anti nuclear arms struggle, the Cuban Revolution and the Black struggle in the US were stimulating new elements and moving them to the left. There was a feeling of protest developing in the ranks of organized labor against the crushing of the IWA's *(International Woodworkers` union—ed.)* organizing drive in Newfoundland and the rash of union-busting legislation.

The old alignments were breaking up —there was significant sentiment for the regroupment of socialist forces — the most notable expression the Council of Socialist Clubs in Montreal. The seminars and conferences on the new party were attracting new forces. We were actively involved in all these processes.

Formation of the NDP

We threw the pages of our press, the *Workers` Vanguard,* wide open to discussion on all the issues. We explained the need for the new party to commit itself to public ownership, why it must take a clear and unequivocal stand against the war drive. We took on every opposition, from the Stalinists who tried to scuttle its development as a class party by advocating a "democratic national coalition of patriotic forces for peace," to the sectarian critics on the sidelines who were unable to distinguish the unions from the bureaucrats, to the Galbraithians, to the would-be liquidators into the bourgeois Liberal Party. We urged all socialists, no matter their tendency, to come in and fight for a class struggle policy and a militant leadership.

At the same time we projected the Trotskyist movement even more vigorously to the fore through fusing the Toronto-based Socialist Educational League to the Vancouver-based Socialist Information Center and launching out as the League for Socialist Action — a cross-Canada movement. We published and circulated on a big scale a simple programmatic pamphlet popularizing our transitional program and presenting ourselves as a socialist tendency whose relationship would be best expressed as an affiliate of a federated labor party.

The New Democratic Party was launched as a labor party by some 1800 voting delegates who made it the most representative working class assembly that has yet taken place in this country. The tumultuous policy debates showed the radical potential of the Canadian working class.

Our understanding of the processes at work, the implementation of our orientation, was overwhelmingly vindicated by this founding convention. The old leadership of the CCF, allied with the trade-union bureaucracy, prevailed but not without a head-on collision with a core of delegates who won such widespread support that it could only be defeated by the just elected national leader T.C. Douglas, blackmailing the delegates into submission by announcing his resignation should they adopt an anti-NATO-NORAD resolution.

The youth radicalization

For the next two or three years the tempo of NDP development continued forward at a high pitch. In Quebec in the 1965 federal elections, with practically no provincial organization and heavily marked as an English and federalist party, its vote shot up 60% to 18% in Montreal and 12% of the total vote. But increasingly it tended to move to the right, to become more structured, more bureaucratized. In 1963. a large proportion of comrades who were our most important connection with the NDP through its youth movement, were expelled.

Without doubt our greatest successes in the earlier, formative years of the NDP were in the youth arena. In 1961 while the League firmed up as an open and pan-Canadian movement, the Young Socialists dissolved their public face and entered the NDY in order to integrate their forces fully in the building of the NDP's youth movement, the New Democratic Youth, to build its left wing and to consolidate out of it a revolutionary youth cadre. In key areas of the country — Ontario and British Columbia — they provided some of the main leadership force in the NDY.

The Young Socialists recruited their first substantial forces out of the NDY and trained them in the fires of its internal struggles. Our forces faced repeated and sweeping expulsions, which we met with vigorous public defense campaigns through which we were able each time to reconstitute our fraction - with an increased number of new recruits who, if less experienced, were nonetheless completely immersed in the process of gaining invaluable experiences.

During this process the YS launched a Trotskyist youth newspaper, and through it expanded its open activities. In 1966-67, as the ascending youth radicalization began to move past an NDY paralyzed by its right-wing leadership we withdrew from it and launched an independent Trotskyist youth organization which, from an effective point of view of intervening in the struggle, can be said to have replaced the NDY in the youth arena. At the same time as the YS carries our orientation to support the NDP propagandisticly, without doing fraction in the NDP, it is able to operate in many ways as the pro-NDP student organization.

At our 1963 convention we concluded that the formative period of the party was then ending and at the same time new opportunities to widen the base of our league not finding reflection in the NDP were opening up. We therefore decided to pay more attention to our NDP work in the trade unions and to direct more time and energy to our independent work, to build the antiwar movement, to increase the circulation of our literature, to develop our forums. One of the most significant decisions of this new stage was to step up our commitment to participation in the developing struggles in Quebec.

We began to develop the increasingly apparent possibilities for coalescing widely diverse forces behind an anti-Vietnam war movement in 1965. The work of our US co-thinkers was of tremendous value for its scope, for the movement was more limited here, its course of development in many ways has paralleled that of the US. Our "single issue" "End Canadian Complicity" strategy, fought out with all currents and tendencies in conferences across the country, has firmly established a movement that has been capable of a whole series of actions, ever renewing itself as new waves of youth enter into the struggle. While our opponents have labeled the anti-Vietnam war movement "Trotskyist," the imperialist aggression in Vietnam has evoked such response, has proven to be such a key factor in the radicalization process, that all forces, like it or not, have had to participate in its mass actions.

The anti-Vietnam war movement has been the broadest ongoing movement In decades. Only the rising women's liberation movement, with which there is an inevitable interaction, would appear to be approaching it.

Whereas the NDP and trade-Union brass first repulsed all approaches of the antiwar movement, then took a cautious, passive attitude, they have been compelled to make identity with it We gave them no peace. We buffeted them from both inside and outside and thus have helped to raise the level of an entire mass in key sectors of the Canadian working class. In the process of this ongoing and vital activity which we have carried, we have established right across the country a whole layer of comrades who are widely respected as leaders in their communities and whom the NDP and trade-union leadership have had to recognize.

At the same time as we moved out freely and independently of the NDP milieu, in keeping with the dynamic concept of our NDP orientation, our fraction reached out of its localized, contracting work areas to play a key role in the formation of province-wide socialist caucuses in the Ontario, Alberta and BC sections.

These caucuses, well under way by 1966, continued to expand on a modest basis for a couple of years until the rise of Waffle for which they prepared valuable ground-work. They played a pioneer role through their struggle against the reformist leadership in legitimatizing caucus formations in the NDP. Through their projection of a rounded alternative socialist program and in the struggle to promote it, they trained cadre and established leading figures on the left.

Our last convention prepared our movement to meet developing Canadian national sentiments which we interpreted as anti-US imperialist, leading to anti-Canadian capitalist and to class consciousness. When this burst nto the NDP with the formation of Waffle we were ready to integrate ourselves into it. With the rise and firming up of Waffle as an English-Canadian-wide force, the area of revolutionary propaganda in the NDP has been widened and the NDP has become more attractive to

radicalizing youth. But Waffle is as yet to some considerable degree still outside the movement. It has not yet directed itself into the constituency organizations or towards the established union movement and so does not cause us, at this time at any rate, to make any substantial tactical adjustments in our orientation.

With the class

Our orientation to the NDP, to the labor party, is an orientation to the working class in its process of developing political consciousness. We have been firm and consistent in maintaining this orientation because we have no intention of being cut off or cutting ourselves off from the force that is destined to settle accounts with capitalist rule and establish workers power. For the period that is foreseeable ahead the working class is going to go through that experience. We intend to participate in that experience — fully. No one, nothing is going to stop us. Neither sectarians, nor opportunists—nor the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class nor their direct agents. We intend to be right in there — to expedite that experience and to assure that it moves forward to the forging of the type of instrument necessary to realize the Canadian revolution.

We are flexible in its application because the tempo of the class struggle and the maturing of the workers is vastly uneven; and it is possible — even necessary to take advantage of every opportunity that presents itself right now — to turn the relationship of forces between ourselves and the reformist leadership of the NDP to our advantage. It is necessary to build the cadre now.

(end)

END NOTES

In the Introduction

NDP - New Democratic Party, formed in 1961 and successor to the CCF

CCF - Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, formed in 1932 as an agrarian-based Social-democratic party

Socialist League, formed in 1974 in Toronto, ideological successor to the LSA; became known as the Forward Group in 1977

In "Opposition to Orientation"

Third World Congress since Reunification - 1968; the third congress since the 1963 Re-unification W.C. of the Fourth International, which was founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938

VMC - Vietnam Mobilization Committee, the anti-war united front in which the LSA played a leading role in the 1960s

In "Cannot be by-passed"

International Executive Committee (IEC) of the FI - the Fourth International grouping headed by Michel Pablo, the leading European exponent of entrism *sui generis.*

United Secretariat - Fourth International grouping including the US, Canadian and British sections in opposition to Pablo`s line, dissolved with the reunification of world Trotskyism in 1963

In "Concept of Entry"

Bonapartist state - historical reference to the military regime thrown up in the later stages

of the French Revolution straddling the contending forces of the rising bourgeoisie, the monarchist reaction and the revolutionary proletariat, i.e., a period of sustained supra-class ``dual power``

In ”Liquidationism”

The Militant - journal of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, American section of the F.I. until 1980

Pseudonyms

Grenier: Jean-Marie Bédard
McAlpine: Ken Sutherland
Pablo: Michel Raptis, veteran Greek F.I. leader
Rose: Joe Rosenthal

(Comment for the website edition by the Web Ed. -- 2009)
This document is not only of historical interest, sketching as it does the history of the Trotskyist movement in Canada; it also expresses the most complete development of the Trotskyist orientation to the mass, mainstream independent labor political party in Canada - the only such established labor party in North America - the New Democratic Party.

This document outlines the strategy that the Canadian Trotskyist movement tested and refined over 40 years in coming to grips with the challenge posed by the existence of the NDP, which from its birth as the agrarian-based CCF evolved into a mass social-democratic labor-based party, which for historical reasons has been able to position itself as the obligatory first step in the political education and mobilization of the Canadian working class. Thus, Canadian Trotskyists see the mass NDP not only as "in the way," but also "on the way" to labor`s political development towards establishing socialism in this country - a dialectical concept that also obliges the forces of revolutionary socialism to relate to and participate closely in this party (its proletarian life and fate.)

By 1948, in the judgement of its author Ross Dowson, the formerly agrarian-based CCF had acquired the decisive support from the Canadian union movement to be recognized as a labor party. Furthermore, with the consolidation of the major Canadian union federations' support in the "re-branding" of the CCF as the New Democratic Party in 1961, there was henceforth no doubt that the Canadian working class would hereby first pass through the experience of a reformist labor party on the road to workers power in this country.

However, the advantage and opportunity afforded by the existence of this mass-based parliamentarist labor party formation - first the CCF then the NDP - could be realized by a dialectical approach to the question, in recognizing the need for a strategic orientation to this mass formation which would vastly help in legitimizing revolutionary socialist ideas, particularly as applied with the powerful concept of Trotsky's Transitional Program (1938). *This is method of applying concrete demands such as nationalization of industry and resources in the context of plant closings or foreign takeover and control, or of ending Canadian complicity in US aggression throughout the world, or of womens rights to control their lives and bodies through abolition of abortion laws, etc. These*

transitional demands not only fulfil democratic (i.e., reformist) needs, but in reality they either cannot be fully realized without a socialist revolution nor can even serious reforms leading to partial realization of these demands be initiated without mass mobilization of the class, which is the first requisite of the march towards socialism. Most importantly, the context of raising these transitional demands before the working class within the political arena of the labor party is far more powerful than that of an labor movement reduced to begging for concessions from bourgeois parties.

In fact, the real indirect political influence of this labor party intruder into the hallowed halls of bourgeois Parliament is much greater than the often marginal vote percentage it garners and its under-representation in terms of seats won. The NDP appears a marginal player on the federal plane but in reality this labor party is solidly in the mainstream of Canadian politics, and with the impending victory of the NDPs pressure for electoral reform - proportional representation - and the increasingly likely departure of Quebec from Confederation in a decade or two, the NDPs destiny is clearly to become a major force which will be soon thrust into power in Ottawa. Thus, a key sector of the North American working class will take power in its own name, the first step in the struggle for a socialist North America.

This document outlines this long struggle of Canadian Trotskyists for a mass orientation to the class - in reality, the obligation Canadian revolutionists must come to grips with - as well as its pitfalls and dangers to building the revolutionary vanguard - the central task facing us of rebuilding the revolutionary cadre, as the author saw it.

J.D., January 2006

Origins of Canadian Trotskyism

Jack MacDonald

Maurice Spector

Ross Dowson

..THE..

WORKERS' WORLD

Vol. 1 No. 1 — Toronto, Wednesday August 17, 1921 — Price 5 cents

SOVIET GOVERNMENT NOT PANIC STRICKEN BY CRISIS

Trotsky at Head of Relief Machine.

London, Aug. 11.—After five weeks in Russia, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, one of the organizers of the National Union of Distributive and Allied workers, has returned to Manchester. Describing the famine in the Volga valley, Miss Wilkinson, as quoted by the Manchester Guardian, says:

I.T.U. DISCUSSES WORK AND WAGES

Power Given Executive Committee to Negotiate Contract With Publishers

Quebec, Aug. 11.—Power was given the executive committee of the International Typographical Union to recommence negotiations with the American Publishers' Association relative to the contract governing hours of work and wages, to arrange a tentative agreement, and submit the same to the rank and file of the union in a referendum at this afternoon's

"GENERAL STAFF" FOR BRITISH LABOR

Parliamentary Committee Goes.

The Trade Union Congress, at its September meeting at Cardiff, will have before it the proposal to establish a new General Staff to take the place of the present Parliamentary Committee. The new Council will be composed of 32 members representing 18 trade groups. The function of the Council will be to keep a watch upon all

SOVIET RUSSIA WILL TOLERATE NO INTERFERENCE.

Litvinoff on Fight Against Famine.

Riga, Aug. 11.—"The Soviet Government will tolerate no interference in the internal affairs of Russia. We gladly accept all the

THE VANGUARD

Organ of the International Left Opposition of Canada

Volume 1., No. 1. — TORONTO NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1932. — Price 5 Cents

Hail 15 Years of Soviet Power!

Forward on the Road of the World Revolution

CIVIC ELECTION

AMNESTY CAMPAIGN

FOR LABOR CANDIDATES AGAINST BOSSES!

Socialist Action

OFFICIAL ORGAN of SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUE of CANADA

VOL. II NO. 5 — TORONTO, ONT. AUGUST 1939 — Price 5 cents

TAMMANY HALL POLITICIANS IN WINDSOR

C.C.F., C.P. Silent As Croll Hits At Unemployed

(Special to Socialist Action)

Windsor, Ont: At the civic elections in December of last year, Dave Croll, Liberal M.P., seeking to be elected mayor of Windsor, donned his overalls once again, to pose as "the friend of labour". Through the Labour Representation Committee, he managed to get the support of the labour groups. The platform of the campaign was prepared by this L.R.C. and Croll's machine, under an agreement to elect a "labour administration".

As was to be expected, the platform, designed to suit Croll, capitalist leader of this Popular Front, was so watered-down, that even if carried out 100%, it could benefit the workers little.

SHARPENING CRISIS CRACKS OLD TWO PARTY SYSTEM

COMING ELECTIONS SHOW NEED FOR INDEPENDENT ACTION BY WORKERS, FARMERS

Canadian political alingnments have been undergoing decided shifts since the last general elections. The Conservative Party lost its majority in 1935 because it was unable to solve the problems thrown up by a decaying capitalist system. Unemployment in the east and starvation in the west continued to grind the workers and farmers down. The Stevens' Reconstructionists, a Tory splinter, foresaw the demise of the Conservatives as a force in the west and tried to capture the new radical sentiment stimulated by the depression years.

They appealed to the "greenback" sentiment on the prairies and the sense of frustration of the middle-class in the face of the big

S.W.L. Prairie Victory

FOR A CCF GOV'T

CHALLENGE

VOL. I, No. 1 — TORONTO, ONT., JUNE 1st, 1945

For Independent Labour Political Action

VOTE CCF

On June 4th in Ontario and on June 11th nationally the workers and farmers will vote to decide which of three parties, Liberals, Progressive-Conservatives or Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, will administer the Province of Ontario, and the Canadian state for the next five years. Labour Challenge wil give critical support to all CCF candidates and urges the workers to elect a CCF Government.

No one can escape participation in this important decision, whether they vote or not. The worker who rejects political action because "politicians are crooks" is fooling himself. He has not avoided politics. He has simply given up his rights to the enemies of labour without putting up a fight. A very significant political act.

The two old parties, the Liberal and Progressive-Conservative represent the interests of the moneyocracy. They are referred to as the old parties because they have been in existance for about 100 years. In the first stages of their life they actually represented two distinct sections of the Canadian capitalist class.

hands of both the Liberal and Tory parties.

Nearly 100 years ago Karl Marx advised the workers to take the road of independent political action in an address to the Communist League in 1850. Marx said:

"Even in constitutionless where there is no prospects of our candidates being elected, the workers must nevertheless put up candidates in order to maintain their independence, to steel their forces and to bring their revolutionary attitude and party views before the public. They must not allow themselves to be diverted from this work by the stock argument that to split the vote of the democrats assists the reactionary parties. All such talk is calculated to cheat each talk is calculated to cheat the proletariat. The advance which the proletarian party will make through its independent political attitude is infinitely more important

Statement of PURPOSE AND POLICY

published for the

MITCH POSES AS FRIEND OF LABOUR

We have to admit that Mitchell

FOR A LABOR ADMINISTRATION

The Workers Vanguard

vol. 1, No. 1 — TORONTO—Price 5 cents

Top Polls With Dowson Mayor Stanton B. of C.

THE ELECTION ISSUE

The vast, the overwhelming majority of the population of Toronto are working people. It is they who make the wheels of commerce and industry go round. It is they who raise the youth, the men and women of the future Canada, and who sustain the generation whose energies in previous years laid the foundations of this country's great wealth.

Yet, despite the fact that it is they who have created all wealth the working people receive only a small portion of it. They are without wealth and without security. Many have cars, TV sets, houses, but they have no security. Since they are entirely dependent on their jobs for income a serious illness with attendant medical bills, an accident not to speak of even a short period of unemployment can have a shattering effect. Any one of these can result in the loss of possessions accumulated over years of effort.

There is another Canada—the Canada of the Fifty Big Shots. It is they who own stocks and bonds who own the factories and all the products that are produced in them. Through their ownership of the means of production they siphon off the great wealth of this country into their pockets. Organized as a class through the Liberal Progressive-Conservative and Social Credit parties, they have grabbed and shaped the instruments of government municipal provincial and federal to serve THEIR interests.

Through their control of the state they pass and have the power laws that preserve and extend their interests as a class.

of the working people. Through their control

the role Canada will play in rela

FOR BOARD OF CONTROL

FOR MAYOR

GEORGE STANTON

Agitator, teacher, historian -the role of the socialist press

Maurice Spector, pioneer Canadian socialist, on the national question

By Gary O'Brien

from Forward*, November 1974) (publication of the Forward Group, Toronto)*

The following article by Gary O'Brien stems from his recently completed M.A. thesis at Carleton University, Ottawa, on 'Maurice Spector and the Origins of Canadian Trotskyism.' We print it as a contribution to the history of the Canadian revolutionary socialist movement.

The status of the Canadian state and the question of nationalism have never been satisfactorily settled by the Canadian Left. Varied images have been drawn ranging from the portrayal of Canada as an underdeveloped colony of the Third World, to a fully developed and autonomous imperialist state.

Because factional and tactical conflict has often replaced concrete analysis, grave errors have been (and still are being) committed and revolutionary will is still being substituted for the historical process. The abuse of the national question has often led to a failure of the Left to use it to its potential in mobilizing Canadian workers against the exploitation and oppression of which they are the primary victims.

The national question was not born with the Watkins Report in 1968, but has been a burning issue for socialists since the 1920's. Given the present controversy among the Left, and particularly among Trotskyists, it may be instructive to review what one of Canada's most eminent socialists, the first Trotskyist on the North American-continent and the founder of the Canadian movement, had to say on the question. Providing us with certain guidelines and trends of thought, such a review lends a historical perspective to the issue; this could be useful in making future studies, strategies and tactics.

For Maurice Spector, who until his expulsion in 1928 was the national chairman of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC), its recognized theoretical leader and honored as the first North American member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the national question was the most important political issue during the 1920's. In 1925 'Canadian Independence' was made the Party's central political slogan.

National Question Central

Canada was characterized as a 'colony', but not in the sense of being a member of the underdeveloped colonial world. Spector was wary of the term 'colony' for it has misleading connotations: he considered his views to be completely in harmony with Lenin's, whom he noted had written in his study *Imperialism:* "Once we are speaking of colonial policy, in the period of capitalist-imperialism, it is indispensable to note that finance capital and its international policy, which resolves itself into the struggle of the great powers for the economic and

political division of the world, gives rise to a number of transitional forms of state dependence. ***And the division into two principal groups of countries — possessors of colonies and colonized areas — is not sufficient to characterize the period. It is necessary to take into account the various kinds of dependence of countries which are politically independent in form but are surrounded in reality with a fine network of financial and diplomatic bonds."***

Spector pointed out that Canadian society had been the product of uneven and combined development. While in the 1890's Canada's leading exports had been primarily agricultural products, by the 1920's manufacturing had increased greatly in importance and industry had appeared rapidly in its concentrated form. As early as 1910, the federal government had been so concerned about the increased capitalization of industry that it had introduced a bill to curb monopolies. By the late 1920's, Canada was exporting not only over half a billion dollars worth of manufactured goods, but also $70 million worth of capital per year.

Yet while such development put Canada in the lists of 'advanced countries', pre-capitalist relationships lingered. The agricultural sector was still larger than the industrial. Farmers were still of such economic importance they could win a parliamentary majority in three of the provinces including Ontario, during the 1920's. **Most important, the ownership of much of industry remained with British and American capitalists, hindering the emergence of a powerful national bourgeoisie. Constitutionally, Canada was still subordinate to Britain, was without the right to declare war and peace or to be the final arbitrator of her legal system.**

Canadian Nationalism Progressive

For Spector, it did matter to workers "whether the country in which they carry on their struggle for freedom from wage slavery is a colony or whether it has achieved its complete sovereignty" — for workers were vitally affected by the regime of the British North America Act (BNA). Breaking the Imperial connection would mean an end to the use of Canadians as 'cannon-fodder' for British wars, as in 1914-17. It would also mean re-writing the BNA Act which, by assigning jurisdiction of social legislation to the provinces but keeping control of criminal law centralized, permitted the federal government to be used "against the Labor movement whenever it suits it". It also raised the hope of abolishing the Senate which had killed J.S. Woodsworth's bill for old age pensions. *(Woodsworth was a founder of the CCF in 1933 --ed.)*

The national question was important not only to Canadian workers but also to the oppressed masses of the British Empire. Britain, weakened by World War I and rapidly losing industrial hegemony to the US needed the military and financial support of her Dominions to keep the shaky Empire together. **Given the increased industrialization of Canada and the ensuing mood of independence in her bourgeoisie (witnessed by Mackenzie King's refusal to support Britain on Turkey in 1922), Spector perceived that the British Empire contained within itself "the seeds of its own destruction"**

and that "Canada, at the present time, is one of the weak links in the chain of the Empire". Through independence, if she could break that link, the entire Empire would collapse, freeing not only the colonies from imperialism but setting off a revolution in Britain itself.

Immediately following Spector's expulsion, the new CPC leadership, on direct orders from the Stalinized Comintern, disowned the slogan of 'Canadian Independence' as counter-revolutionary and charged that Spector had regarded Canadian capitalists as an oppressed bourgeoisie who had a revolutionary role to play and that he had urged the Party to "remain silent upon the question of proletarian revolution." Such accusations were utterly false. At no time did Spector approach the national question believing Canadian capitalists were anti-imperialist or that socialists must postpone revolutionary activity until national independence was achieved.

Given the fact that Spector had protested Stalin's characterization of Chiang Kai-shek as anti-imperialist and had anticipated the Russian Left Opposition's criticisms of the Comintern's disastrous policy in China five months before Leon Trotsky himself, it was hardly likely Spector would wish to repeat such erroneous policies in his own country. Spector emphasized that a "capitalist independent Canada is not much better than a capitalist colony", and made it clear that "if we oppose British imperialism, we are equally opposed to American and Canadian capitalism". Even in the 1926 election in which King sought support against Governor-General Byng's refusal to grant him the right to dissolve Parliament, Spector, in the headlines of the CPC's election manifesto, urged workers to "Keep Class Issue Clear and Vote Labor—Liberals and Conservatives Are Tools of Vested Interest—Country is Ruled by Dictatorship of Bankers and Manufacturers".

Canada Weak Link

Spector was looking however to exacerbate the conflict among British, American and Canadian capitalists. He supported a national flag for Canada, on the grounds that "Any national movement that will help liquidate this British Empire deserves the support of the working class. Flags may be the symbols of such movements. The replacement of the imperialist flag by the national flag would weaken the imperialist foe and speed the day when the Red Flag of working class internationalism would replace the flags of nationalism."

There was danger, however, in over-exaggerating the importance of intra-bourgeois conflict, a danger Spector was well aware of. With the Liberals' tentative support in 1927 for sending Canadian troops to China to bolster British imperialism there, it was clear that Canadian capitalists only aspired to be partners of imperialist ventures and were not interested in national independence. As Spector wrote: “But, for an independent tariff policy, a free hand in exploitation of the workers at home, commercial treaty-making power, diplomatic representation and a seat on the League of Nations, the Dominion bourgeoisie do not need secession.

An alliance with British Imperialism is enough .... The fight of workers and farmers of Canada against the imperialist war danger must therefore be aimed against the Canadian bourgeoisie as a joint partner of British imperialism."

For Maurice Spector, then, Canadian nationalism was a progressive force since it was both anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist. National sovereignty was not just an academic question but was "bound up vitally with the everyday problems of the class struggle in Canada, whether these struggles are over questions of imperialist war, social legislation or the status of their trade union movement."

Spector was willing to participate with other leftist groups on the national question, such as J.S. Woodsworth's Independent Labor Party (ILP), which also voiced opposition to British imperialism and Canada's involvement in foreign wars. He also supported the creation of the All-Canadian Congress of Labor, as well as those fighting for more autonomy within the American Federation of Labor-controlled Trades and Labor Congress. He did not consider Canadian nationalism 'chauvinist' but rather a transitional stage to true working class internationalism.

With Spector's expulsion, the CPC commenced its zig-zag approach to the class struggle in Canada. Canada was no longer deemed a colony but rather a fully developed capitalist country where all the characteristics of imperialism defined by Lenin, with the sole exception of the possession of colonies, were found. The Anglo-American presence in Canadian society was seen as having no effect on the course of the proletarian revolution.

Canada was chiefly an exporter of manufactured goods and was fighting America and Britain for markets in Latin America and the Pacific. In the latter '30s, in its Popular Front days, the CPC went completely the other way, characterizing Canada as a colony in which workers must ally with sections of the 'progressive bourgeoisie' to ensure the supremacy of 'democratic' and 'anti-imperialist' forces within Canada. How Canada suddenly lost her imperialist characteristics in so short a time has never been explained.

Contrasting Spector's stand with both analyses made by the CPC under Stalin's guidance and their disastrous consequences for Canadian workers, there is no doubt his was more consistent with Canadian reality. Based on concrete analysis and not factional conflict, Spector approached the national question from both a Canadian and world orientation, and attempted to forge transitional slogans which corresponded to the socio-economic situation of Canadian society at the time. His methods and findings should be noted by all Canadian socialists of today.

THE SUBVERSION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST ORIENTATION TO THE N.D.P.

■

a summary document of the
struggle against it – Jan. 1974

forward (48) Summer, 1982 - Page 1

06-08-9a

Critique of book on socialist history

The Early Years of the Communist Party of Canada, by Ian Angus, distributed by Pathfinder Press, Montreal, Quebec. Paperback $10.00.

by Ross Dowson

The Communist Party of Canada is now conceived by most radicals and union militants as a mouthpiece of the bureaucratic caste that dominates the USSR. New layers of militants confronted with the right wing policies of the New Democratic Party leadership, and who are looking for an alternative to the difficult task of developing a new leadership within the mass movements of the working class, have learned this basic fact of political life easier than the generations that preceded them.

Today it is the rise of the people of Poland, united in a struggle for socialist democracy under the banner of Solidarnosc that is providing the acid test.

The CP of Canada gives its unabashed support to the military dictatorship imposed on the Polish struggle with the aid of the Kremlin bureaucracy. It was the Polish October of 1956, which followed on the 20th Congress CPSU revelations of the crimes of Stalin, that provoked the second major crisis of the Canadian CP. It witnessed the defection of almost the entire leadership that had been accumulated to that time, including among others J.B. Salsberg, the party's longstanding national trade union director.

In a burst of independence it had cabled a plea for a policy of non-intervention by the CPSU in the affairs of the Polish Workers Party. With the formation of two tendencies the Salsberg faction declared that "there are two lines and two policies before the party (which) cannot be reconciled. Because the question of an independent Canadian Marxist-Leninist party versus one that is subservient to the CPSU is one of principle."

With the publication of this book, titled **Canadian Bolsheviks** by Ian Angus, regardless of its shortcomings, new and valuable information is now available on the history of the first and formative years of the Communist Party. It was the struggle against the Stalinization of its pioneer forces, related in these pages, that saw its decisive transformation from a building force into its opposite, a devourer and destroyer of revolutionary cadre.

Part I of Angus' three-part book presents what it would seem only proper to have headlined with the word Revolution. It outlines a revolution which would appear to have developed across Canada but was inexplicably overlooked, not only by the leading socialist militants of the day but by all subsequent commentators on the period — until discovered by Angus.

It is generally agreed that the Communist Party was launched in 1921. But Angus in the course of his painstaking research came across what he proclaims to be an earlier -- **The First Communist Party.** It turns out to be substantially the Socialist Party of North America which he notes "never had more than 100 members organized in three or four locals in Southern Ontario." Elsewhere he even speculates "as to whether the SPNA as a whole participated in the creation of the new party or whether its forces divided." He notes that "neither the CP's own historians, nor the major academic studies of the party mention it at all."

But it seems clear that the exciting tale that Angus pulls together from capitalist "newspaper reports and other fragmentary sources" is about one of what must have been many somewhat similar responses across the country to the inspiration of the Russian Revolution, elemental and of a generally immature, ultra-leftist character, with little if any influence on subsequent developments. That is why the 1921 events which coalesced key elements from the main socialist groupings across the country can alone be correctly called the foundation or formation of the Communist Party. One would think that the author of what appears, not as an agitational tract but as a serious work of historical analysis and who professes to be a Marxist, would himself be puzzled as to why such contemporary socialist leaders as Spector and MacDonald gave no weight to what he baptizes the First Communist Party.

But as we continue to read Part I we find this highly speculative episode is but a piece of a whole — a sort of prelude to how Angus evaluates the Labour Revolt of 1919 — the Western Labour Conference and the great Winnipeg General Strike — and then the next period, which he labels **Counterrevolution.**

What was the overall significance of the period in which the Winnipeg General Strike was the centrepiece? "Historians may argue whether a socialist revolution was possible in Canada in 1919," but historian Angus, having posed the question, backs off with the words, "there is no doubt that this was the greatest social crisis Canada has yet seen."

There have been innumerable books, pamphlets and esays on the Winnipeg General Strike written from every viewpoint on the political spectrum. While it was a general strike for very modest demands, it has a cherished place in the annals of Canadian labour, and particularly for socialists, because certain aspects which appeared in very nascent forms prefigure their concepts of the struggle for and the development of a new egalitarian social order. But no analysis that this writer is acquainted with, other than those of the Right, upon which Angus strangely falls back on, project his view that it was a revolution — that failed.

Angus quotes the charge by the Winnipeg business community, which organized the Citizen's Committee to mobilize intervention and strikebreaking by the Right, that: "This is not a strike at all, in the ordinary sense of the term — it is Revolution. It is a serious attempt to overturn British institutions in this Western Country and to supplant them with the Russian Bolshevik system of Soviet Rule."

Angus raps the knuckles of the editorial writers and speechmakers of the Liberal and Conservative politicians, but not for what one would expect: "The spokesmen of the ruling class deliberately overstated the amount of conscious planning involved in the supposed Bolshevik plot." But certainly Angus can't be charged with doing so. He castigates the Socialist Party, whose forces were quite small in Winnipeg and according to historian Martin Robin "were barely

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represented" on any of the bodies at the head of the struggles, "with total lack of anything even resembling a revolutionary strategy... in this situation the SPCers could only support the Christian radicals who urged the workers to remain passive. There was no serious effort to coordinate in the various cities," he charges, "no effort to involve the strikers in decision making on a regular basis, no effort to extend the Strike Committee's authority. Above all there was no preparation for the clash with the state that would inevitably come."

If "the spokesmen of the ruling class deliberately overstated the amount of conscious planning", nonetheless, he continues, "their statements show a clear understanding of the dynamics of the crisis." In summing up the chapter Angus states "the labour revolt of 1919 showed the possibility of a transition to socialism that would result from a revolutionary crisis in which the working class would suddenly rebel against the established order. Such a rebellion actually occurred in a chaotic and unconscious fashion, in 1919."

After this exaggerated, even false picture of the dynamics of the immediate post World War I situation in Canada, it becomes clear how Angus can open the next period with the heading "Counterrevolution", buttressed with what he considers to be a relevant quote from a 1935 writing by Trotsky. It reads: "Who ever understands history even slightly knows that every revolution has provoked a subsequent counter-revolution..."

But here too reality was somewhat different — as different from a counterrevolution as the events dealt with in the previous chapter differ from a revolution. Canada entered what has been called "the roaring twenties," the post war capitalist upturn, an expansion built on the forced industrialization of the war years and the rehabilitation of war-torn Europe — prosperity.

Angus quotes American socialist James P. Cannon's description of its impact on the U.S. Communists: "The prosperity sapped the confidence of the cadres in the revolutionary future. Prosecution inflicted wounds upon the party, but the drawn-out prosperity of the Twenties killed the soul." Angus stresses the demoralization of the Canadian party cadre by stating, without providing any source to back it up "that the [Canadian] party had been founded in the conviction that a mass revolutionary party could be built quickly, that proletarian revolution was on the order of the day." Yet, earlier he had occasion to note how the leaders of the Third International, including Lenin and Trotsky, saw the task of the American communists in their **Thesis on Tactics** in June-July 1921. While they addressed themselves to the situation in the U.S., it is clear they would have included Canada also where "the communists are still only on the threshold of the first stage of forming a Communist nucleus and establishing contact with the working masses."

Thus we see Angus' failure to even outline the concrete conditions that confronted the nascent Communist forces leads him to present a romantic, prone to ultra-left view of the post World War I period in Canada.

The central theme of Angus' book is that the CP, within 10 years of its founding, degenerated. It became Stalinized. From a cadre gathering formation with the aim of making a vital contribution to the struggle to establish socialism in Canada, it was transformed into a political apologist or borderguard of the Soviet bureaucracy. It became a reformist movement of a new type.

The youthful Communist Party found within its own ranks and in its most able ideologue, the editor of both its paper and theoretical journal, Maurice Spector, together with its most popular and talented mass working class leader, Jack MacDonald, the forces to initiate the fight against its Stalinism degeneration. The fact that Spector and MacDonald, unbroken by Tim Buck and Company's campaign to drive them from the working class movement in an unprecedented campaign of lies and slanders, launched the Trotskyist movement as the early CP's direct continuator, cannot but be a source of great satisfaction to all genuine Marxists.

Buck claimed in one of his reminiscenses that until he had succeeded in expelling Spector and MacDonald and carrying out the Bolshevization (in reality the Stalinization) of the party, it had in its early and formative years been Trotskyist.

Quite the contrary, declares Angus. "Tempting as such a view of Spector and the Canadian party may be to supporters and opponents of Trotsky alike it has no foundation in fact." Spector, as editor of the **Worker**, he writes, failed to advance the positions of Trotsky and his Left Opposition. Nor did Spector or MacDonald, perhaps fearful of being brutally cut out of the party, merely evade the issues by perfunctory publication of reports of Comintern statements without comment, possibly stalling for more favorable times. "Under the leadership of Spector and MacDonald the Communist Party accepted and endorsed almost every important shift in Comintern policy following Lenin's final stroke." What's more, Angus writes, the party under their leadership "did not stop with the support of the Communist international's line on international issues."

On top of that, Angus disapproves of historian William Rodney in **Soldiers of the International** (U of T., 1968) for stating that Spector in his analysis of the catastrophic defeat suffered by the German Communist Party in 1923, "became one of the Western Hemisphere's first Trotskyites." "It is going too far to say" that, according to Angus. Theodore Draper in **American Communism and Soviet Russia** (Macmillan, 1960), however, goes even further. "In the entire Western hemisphere there was at this time (in the early twenties-RD) only one real Trotskyist — Maurice Spector..." And James P. Cannon, to whom some would give this place, himself defers to Spector. Spector later joined Cannon on the leading body of the U.S. Trotskyist movement in 1933 and immigrated to the U.S. in 1936 to become an editor of its theoretical journal until 1939 when he dropped away. Cannon recalls that Spector's "open manifestation of sympathy for Trotsky... ante-dated mine by three years."

Spector and his new-found ally Cannon brought back from the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern Trotsky's **Draft Program of the CI: a criticism of fundamentals**. It laid bare the source of the crisis in the CI and what was happening to Lenin's party. Its cadre decimated and exhausted, was overwhelmed by a flood of careerists and opportunists who least of all wanted revolutionary forces looking to the Russian Revolutions as the prototype through which they would realize their own hopes and aspirations; most of all they wanted peace, and forces abroad which they could hope would serve to neutralize world reaction threatening Soviet borders. This document revealed the unbridgeable gap between the conservative, counterrevolutionary national bureaucrats and the internationalist revolutionary tendencies in world communism.

What truth is there in Angus' claim that the newly formed Communist Party under Spector and MacDonald's leadership, not only "accepted and endorsed almost every important shift in Comintern policy following Lenin's final stroke" but "also conscientiously applied that line to Canadian conditions: every shift in CI policy had its Canadian expression"? In other words contrary to Buck's contention that in the formative years of 1923-29 the CPC was unconsciously Trotskyist, according to Angus, it was Stalinist from the beginning. It had no heroic days.

Whatever his reasons may be, Angus stakes out this claim in Chapter 9 — The Communist Party in Transition, 1923-29 — where he fits the Canadian party onto a procrustean bed fabricated out of Comintern policies of the early Twenties, then only beginning to escalate into the even more horrendous expressions they took on into the Thirties and on into today.

This chapter is an elaborately contrived, contorted and completely false construction. The bed to be fitted to is formed by policies serving a conservative bureaucracy which besides attempting at any cost to preserve its own privileged positions seeks to justify to its defenders as norms of the new society, its elimination of the democracy of the Soviet councils and its establishment of one party rule. The body Angus attempts to fit onto this bed is the democratic, self-confident but inexperienced revolutionary cadre seeking to root itself in the Canadian working class and forge a leadership to give direction to the struggle for socialist democracy.

Here Angus parallels, if not equates, what was a modification of the Canadian party's position on the building of the Canadian Labour

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Party to the Comintern's turn to the peasantry for support. He parallels the Canadian party's shift to a conciliatory policy to A.R. Mosher and the All Canadian Congress of Labour which would shortly form a base for the CIO, to the Comintern's policy on the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee which served to cover up the treachery of the British trade union leadership during the 1926 General Strike. He ties the Comintern's China policy of subservience to the nationalist liberal-bourgeois Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek to some views expressed in a debate during the Canadian party's first attempts to grapple with the *nature of Canada's political economy.*

In reality the latter would appear to be the first substantial theoretical discussion in the party, one which went through several stages before it was terminated by the capitulation of the 1931 plenum to a Comintern directive that Canada has a developed capitalist economy of a classic mould, an independent capitalist class, and is an imperialist power in its own right. Angus notes historian Norman Penner's comment in **The Canadian Left** that an early Buck contribution was "written outside the usual Communist frame of reference." He also quotes, in part, Spector's last and only rounded contribution on this question appearing in the Jan.-Feb. 1928 issue of the party's theoretical organ.

Spector gives nothing to any concept of collaboration with the Canadian capitalist class but, to obtain a real independence of Canada, calls for the struggle to be directed against the capitalist government of this country and for the establishment of a workers and farmers republic allied with the workers of the U.S. and Great Britain. However, Angus breaks off his quotation from this article, and thereby neglects to inform us, as did Penner's reference, that Spector founded his position on a serious re-examination of Lenin's **Imperialism**. He was convinced that Canada was one of those transitional forms of dependency "which are politically independent in form but are surrounded in reality with a fine network of financial and diplomatic bonds."

From an historical point of view, probably the most worthwhile contribution Angus makes is concentrated in the book's last five or six chapters. Here Angus presents the fruit of an extremely patient and detailed examination of CP archives which were seized by the RCMP during Section 98 days, held illegally for years, and only recently turned over to the Ontario Public Archives. For all his ingenuity in piecing this material together from 50-year-old documents, it appears that Angus did not find a person who lived through this experience and who was able to fill it out such as U.S. historian Draper found in James P. Cannon. Thus there are statements and observations made, several without reference to source or authority, that seem to be scarcely credible.

For instance, are Angus' statements believable that the party's most experienced and sophisticated trade unionist, Jack MacDonald "had welcomed the Third Period" (a period that Angus properly calls one of 'suicidal ultra-leftism') "as a correction to the Comintern's rightward course in 1925-28"?

On the basis of what has been heretofore available and the facts he presents in this book, there seem to be no substantial grounds for Angus' petulant and sweeping criticisms of the CP's 1931 efforts to defend itself from government prosecution of its leadership under the witchhunt Section 98 of the Criminal Code.

Angus gives us little substantial insight into the relationship between the two founding leaders of the CP, both widely experienced, and though separated 10 years in age, both at the height of their powers. But certainly Spector's criticism of MacDonald in his report to his U.S. cothinkers, following the tremendous disappointment of his expulsion and its aftermath, which Angus reproduces without comment, would not and could not be Spector's serious judgement. Angus takes it upon himself to make the unqualified statement that: "Late in 1927 or early in 1928 Spector came to the conclusion that the CPC's political difficulties were MacDonald's fault." If there is one thing certain, it is that Spector clearly understood where the real difficulties lay — in the Stalinization of the party, whose chief agent was Tim Buck.

Draft Manifesto for the NDP
Submitted by the Ontario Left Caucus
March 1983

Preamble

Fifty years ago, the founders of our movement gathered in Regina and proclaimed their dedication to a Cooperative Commonwealth. In ringing terms, they set out their alternative to the grinding poverty, stark injustice and stormclouds of war that confronted their generation:

"We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine democratic self-government, based on economicequality, will be possible."

Today, despite all the vows that a social crisis like the Depression of the 1930's would never happen again, the world is in the grips of an even more dangerous social, economic and political crisis. Mass unemployment is already a reality. Labour rights, our whole range of health and social services, are under fierce attack. Humanity itself is threatened with destruction from the nuclear war drive fuelled by international militarism. Never have we stood in greater need of fundamental solutions.

The Liberals and Conservatives offer nothing but wait-and-see platitudes and policies that punish the population for the crimes of an economic system. Only the NDP offers a way out. In this era, socialism promises more than an ideal. It promises to be the only answer to the pressing challenges before us.

The NDP *(New Democratic Party, founded in 1961),* like the CCF before it *(Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, precursor to the NDP, founded in 1932),* is itself the creation and inheritance of the struggles of successive generations of workers and farmers, who realized that their aspirations for a humane society could never be met within the framework of a capitalist Canada. In contrast to the Liberals and Conservatives who are the parties of the major corporations and vested interests, the NDP remains the party of working people and their allies.

Our goal is a socialist Canada, a new social order based on common ownership of our resources and industry, cooperation, production for use and genuine democracy. Only socialism can turn the boundless potential of our people and resources to the creation of a world free from tyranny, greed, poverty and exploitation.

The World Economic Crisis

Canadians live and work in a world dominated by multinational corporate monopolies. These farflung business empires, of a scope and size unimaginable to previous generations, treat the entire planet as their domain. They are a law unto themselves, free to roam the globe in search of cheaper labour, more exploitable resources, more pliant governments and greater profits.

In collaboration with Canadian capitalists, successive Liberal and Conservative governments have put themselves at the service of these largely U.S.-based cartels. They now hold the power of life and death over every region and industry in our country. By their dictates, our resources have been plundered, our manufacturing capability denied. Canadian workers are their pawns in a global game of mergers, shutdowns, and relocations. These U.S. conglomerates have robbed us of our wealth and of the very power to determine our own future.

Massive world-wide unemployment and hunger are the legacy of these profiteering monopolies. Incapable of turning their technology and organization to the needs of people, they are collapsing under the weight of their hoarded wealth. They have distorted the economic development of the world so fundamentally — the resources they waste on war production, for instance, could eliminate hunger in the world — that world "markets" are glutted. Factories, shops and offices operate at half and three-quarters of their ability, while the world waits in need of the goods they could produce. There are no new frontiers for the multinationals. On the contrary, the crisis will only deepen. The micro-computer revolution will only intensify massive permanent unemployment, tedious and stressful jobs for remaining workers, and terrifying concentrations of knowledge and control in the hands of private corporations.

The central question posed by microtechnology, as by the multinational monopolies, is political. What kind of society do we want to create with the most powerful extensions of human labour and intelligence since the industrial revolution? If harnessed to popular administration and planning, microtechnology could help us achieve an era of abundance for all, release us from monotonous toil and enrich our store of accessible information.

The socialist option is the only alternative. Deepening of the world economic crisis is inevitable as long as profits dictate the course of humanity.

Social Ownership: The Only Solution

Canada is confronted by a political, social and economic emergency that demands straight-forward solutions. If we are going to stamp out unemployment, secure our independence from the multinationals and steel ourselves for sweeping technological change, we need a socialist industrial strategy based on public ownership of the decisive sectors of the economy. The flaws of capitalism are too basic, the power of the corporations too great, the chasm separating the compulsions of profit and the needs of people too wide, for anything less to succeed.

The half-measures of a mixed economy dominated by big business cannot meet the challenge. The stock-in-trade of government intervention — tinkering with monetary and fiscal policy to stimulate investment and spending — has proven bankrupt. Welfare state policies such as "progressive taxation" and unemployment insurance, though won by hard struggles, have done nothing to correct deep-seated structures of regional and social inequality. Legislative reforms, aimed at the most blatant abuses of corporate power, are faltering. In these harsh economic times, corporations hold governments to ransom through their control of desperately needed investment. Even reform-minded governments have buckled under this pressure, and passed vicious legislation, slashing social services and trampling the basic rights of workers.

Capitalism has failed, and so have efforts to reform it. That failure puts a campaign for the socialist alternative on the immediate agenda.

New Democratic Party governments will replace corporate ownership with social ownership of the major firms in the manufacturing, resource, finance, transportation and communications industries. Only then can we plan for full employment, social equality and economic democracy.

Socially-owned banks and insurance companies will ensure that peoples' savings serve the people. These savings will be mobilized for massive job-creating projects in critical areas such as housing and social services. To create new wealth, a socialist government will call a halt to the U.S. drain on our natural resources and use these resources as building blocks for a rounded industrial economy. To correct a disastrous balance of payments and create new jobs, we will break from our dependency on foreign multinationals and establish our own manufacturing capability in heavy industry and high-technology equipment.

Economic Democracy

The needs of people, not profit, are the driving force of a socialist society. This wholesale reconstruction cannot be accomplished by crown corporations that perpetuate management privileges. It will be accomplished by democratizing all levels of society, and by making workers' control the touchstone of industrial relations.

Under capitalism, labour is a commodity. Workers are used as replaceable parts, extentions of machines — as long as they provide dividends. Employers use their power of ownership to devastate the lives of workers through layoffs, shutdowns and neglect of health and safety. Unions, despite their courageous efforts, have encountered difficulties eliminating even the worst abuses of management power.

Socialism will dissolve the economic foundation of one-sided management privilege by relying on the needs and creativity of people. At the centrepiece of any NDP program will be the goal of enhancing the power that people can exercise over their own lives. This includes the passage of work environment laws to expand the scope and strength of collective agreements, giving workers decisive weight in every level of decision making, and ensuring that control over workers' pensions is placed in the hands of their elected union representatives. We believe in the ability of working people to manage their own productive institutions democratically.

Women's Rights

The modern Canadian women's movement has inspired us to renew and extend the socialist commitment to a society free from sexual discrimination.

Women remain the oppressed sex in Canada. Sexual discrimination is not only tolerated, it is entrenched at every level of society.

Years of piecemeal reform and dead letter laws have left women stranded in dead-end jobs at dead-end rates of pay. Loosely worded, poorly enforced equal pay laws and equal rights codes provide little protection for women at work. There are virtually no laws to protect women from the unemployment that is slated for them with the introduction of microtechnology.

Beyond the workplace, women's basic rights are continually denied. Hospitals and governments still interfere with a woman's basic right to make her own decision about maternity. Women are left to shoulder the major responsibility of childcare, because daycare facilities are inadequate and under-funded. Violence makes victims of women in the home and in the community.

By taking the profit out of discrimination, a socialist society will take a crucial step towards women's rights. In cooperation with the independent women's movement, NDP governments will place top priority on legislation to guarantee equal pay for work of equal value, and affirmative action to promote women in areas where centuries of systematic discrimination must be overcome. Universal quality daycare will be established, either by extending the school system or funding local parent-child centres. Emergency shelters for battered wives will be funded by government, not charity. In recognition of women's inalienable rights to control their own bodies, funds will be allocated to birth control research, education, and to free-standing abortion clinics. The choice of maternity rests with a woman, in consultation with her doctor. Laws and hospital regulations that deny access to safe abortions will be repealed.

The Crisis of Federation

After 116 years of Confederation, we have not resolved the most pressing issues of federalism. We have not overcome the injustices of centuries-old conquests. We have not taken control of the levers of independent economic and cultural development. We have allowed corporations to treat East, West and North as resource hinterlands, to scar them with boom and bust development that leaves behind only a wealth of regional resentment.

The present constitution with its loopholed charter of individual rights cannot deal with problems of this magnitude. A renewed commitment to democracy and independence can. The crisis of Canadian nationhood can only be resolved on a basis of self-determination and equality of its peoples and regions.

An NDP government will guarantee full rights to self-determination to the Quebec and Native nationalities. We will guarantee and extend the linguistic rights of long-established francophone communities outside Quebec. We will abolish the Senate and Governor-Generalship as patronage-infested relics of the aristocratic age. We will establish an independent economy which the working people of Canada will control. We will extend that independence to the world of culture.

We will extend that control to regions, through decentralized planning, that puts an end to the tribute to Ottawa, Toronto and New York.

Peace and World Justice

Canada must establish a new and independent foreign policy to join the worldwide battle for peace and economic justice. In alliance with other international movements — for disarmament in the first world, for democracy in the second world, and for equality and national liberation in the third world — we can help tilt the balance that is now pushing the world toward nuclear annihilation. Such solidarity is only possible if we establish an independent economy, free from the dictates of the U.S. military-industrial complex, free to enjoy a world economic order based on cooperation rather than exploitation.

For decades, the world has endured a balance of nuclear terror based on the supposed deterrent value of mutual assured destruction. That balance now rests on a hair trigger that could be brushed at any moment by the use of first-strike weapon systems. These weapons are designed primarily to re-establish U.S. supremacy through the threat of "winnable" nuclear war.

These weapons are the centrepiece of U.S.-dominated alliances such as NATO and NORAD. Canadian membership in these organizations places us in the front lines of responsibility for the production, testing and launching of nuclear missiles. A breakaway from these organizations and establishment of a nuclear weapons free zone in Canada could place us on the front lines of those fighting for a new world order.

We are dedicated to a world in which all nations renounce the use of nuclear weapons — a world based on the twin pillars of disarmament and economic justice. Both are preconditions of the other. Multi-billion dollar budgets now wasted on the war drive could wipe out world hunger and illiteracy in one year. To play a part in the creation of such a world, Canada needs an independent foreign policy and an economic order that rejects production for war.

An NDP Government in Power

A New Democratic Party government will seek to give political power to unorganized and organized working people, to farmers, women, students and all groups subjected to national oppression. A New Democratic Party government will develop a plan to legislate the key elements of its democratically determined program as the first step towards transforming Canada into a socialist society. Such a government will seek to educate and mobilize in defence of its legislative program against entrenched power blocs that may seek to thwart the will of the majority.

The New Democratic Party Left Caucus commits itself to a program based on the following objectives as priorities:

1. Public ownership of the decisive sectors of the economy and, in particular, of the resource, finance, manufacturing, transportation and communication sectors, to permit the development of an independent economy, production for use, economic planning and industrial democracy.

2. The development of a comprehensive industrial strategy dedicated to full employment. Massive public work programs and a shorter work week for the same takehome pay will be key elements in establishing everyone's right to a job.

3. The development of a comprehensive social strategy to eliminate poverty in Canada. Such a strategy will include minimum wages corresponding to basic levels of need, indexed pensions, disability and welfare allowances.

4. Full support for the rights of labour, including the abolition of all legislation limiting free collective bargaining, the encouragement of unionization, the safeguarding of the right to strike and to refuse unsafe work and the right to negotiate technological change.

5. Full support for the demands of the women's movement. In particular, we will promote

affirmative action programs, establish the right of women to control their own bodies and to be paid equally for work of equal value as decisive measures to lead towards the realization of guaranteed equality in all social, economic and legal matters to women.

6. Legislation to guarantee the extension of fundamental human rights to all persons regardless of race, religion, sex, sexual orientation or physical or mental disability.

7. The constitutional extension of full democratic rights including the dismantling of undemocratic political institutions such as the Senate and reform of the patronage-ridden judicial system. We will undertake to pass legislation establishing democratic civilian control of police forces.

8. The right of self-determination for the Québécois and Native peoples.

9. Free, universal access to all levels of education from daycare to university.

10. Protection of the family-based farm. Special measures to break the power of the bankers and agri-business processors will include easy access to credit, encouragement of cooperatives and rationalized food production through producer-controlled marketing agencies.

11. Encouragement of an independent Canadian culture through measures guaranteeing funding and distribution rights for Canadian cultural workers and measures to offset U.S. domination of distribution rights in the theatre and magazine industries.

12. Protection of our environment from unacceptable and unnecessary pollutants such as acid rain, nuclear and toxic wastes and the creation of a policy that promotes safe and renewable energy sources.

13. An international policy reflecting a commitment to peace, global justice, the end of the nuclear arms race, and the declaration of a nuclear-weapons free zone in Canada.

14. An independent foreign policy for Canada which will no longer be dictated by the U.S. military system. An NDP government will immediately withdraw draw from NATO and NORAD and promote the international antiwar and disarmament movements.

The New Democratic Party is the party of the dispossessed and oppressed struggling to build a new world. We are both a social movement and a political party.

As a social movement, we support all struggles against the injustices of capitalism. Unions — together with popular organizations fighting for world peace, social equality and environmental safety — are the life-blood of our movement. As a political party, we seek to become a government that can implement legislation to meet the needs of working people.

We do not offer just a blueprint to a better future. We offer an invitation to all Canadians to join

us, as we join them, in our common efforts to eradicate a social system based on exploitation, discrimination, poverty and war. The capitalist system must be replaced by socialist democracy. That is the burning issue of our era, the only hope of humanity.

(union "bug" Local 15 ITU)

For further information on ONDP Left Caucus contact Dave Tomczak.